over to the saloon to tea.
"Is company there?" asked Adrian.

"Only Count Eisheim and her grace, the young Countess, are expected. The Minister von Hochstein and lady have excused them-

selves; but the young Baron and his lady will be there, and Count Sternhof. I know not of Adrian rose, and walked to and fro. "I must apologize to his Highness," said he, at length, to the page in waiting; "I have a

sofa, rested his head on his hand, and remained so a long time without moving, till the door was burst open, and Hyppolith entered. "Thou art sick, Adrian!" cried he, "and I

perceive it is altogether accidental."
"Nothing of consequence, your Highness, only it is impossible for me to appear in com-

pany."
"'Tis therefore to be hoped that no restraint will be put upon thee. I, at least, could not ask thee to come. I know very well how in-

"If necessity required my presence, I would, at least I believe so, have the power to comply without betraying my disinclination; but as I can be spared, I know of no ground for simulation;

"I thought it would be pleasant for thee to be with Edmund to-day. Count Eisheim wishes

may be there now." At this moment there was a tap at the door,

pain, and unfit for conversation; and the two young men soon left him—Edmund affected with young men soon lett him—Edmund affected with disquietude, Hyppolith to seek satisfaction with his friends. It was affecting with how much attention and respect the young, wild, and ve-hement man behaved toward Adrian! What a real gentleness and submission he showed in his conduct to his friend, so long as he did not touch the only sore spot. Before he left the room, he screwed the lamp lower, and placed it so that its light should not fall immediately on his eyes; then fixed his bolster, and in a

Adrian remained in a strange state of mind. "Thus am I forced, against all that I love, to appear cold and formal to those who approach me with affection; to do mortal vio-lence to my warmest feelings, in order to fulfil duty; to tear the cords of sweet sentiment, and, with most poignant woe in my own breast, aff-fright the happy from their dreams. I see Edmund going astray, Lucie plucking flowers on a precipice, the Prince wasting his strength for a phantom; and, to save them, to warn and enlighten them, must act toward them as a cold, strict reprover; must trifle with their love, their confidence; while, having their best interests in view, I labor for the future, they, deluded by the present, take no thought about it. And what a fate am I preparing for myself, by this position! People will avoid me, charge me with heartlessness, and arm themselves with bitterness against me. But I am no dreamer; and what I can myself do, I have

a right to expect from others." a right to expect from others."

These and similar thoughts occupied Adrian in his solitude, while the expected guests were assembling in the other wing of the palace. The Eisheims were the last; and Erika had pany, when the Duke came up, and expressed his regret that she could not to-day challenge the announced theological discussion, becaus Hyppolith's governor was sick.

Erika had been in a very serene state of mind; but her humor suddenly took a sort of irritated hue, such as it wears when excited by pride; it springs from the source of disappointed expectation. She knew not why, but could not fully believe that Müller was sick, and lost herself in subtle meditations on his intentional conduct. While she cast reflections right and left, the query, Why did he not come? stood before her unrepulsed.

"Do you know that Emil Devrient has come, and is about to give a Carlon was Controlled."

and is about to give a Cyclus von Gastrollen? "A new kind of subject for conversation, to suit those who long for variety," answered Erika.

Erika.

"And a new danger for female worshippers of art," said Sternhof, not without meaning.

"Why should it be dangerous to honor art, from which the artist is altogether a different thing?" asked Erika.

"Because it is not very possible to separate the two, particularly as is the case here, where the art cannot be distinguished from the man, and must go to the grave with him. It is otherwise with the painter, sculptor, and the like creative geniuses, where personal acquaintance often operates to greatest hindrance, than with play actors, who, while they give us them selves, inspire us by their art with enthusiasn for themselves," remarked Baler, maintaining his assertion, and coming in open contradiction with the invidious occasion itself.

"So long as the play actor seeks in passions and words to present upon the stage the mental affections of the character, and to inspire with enthusiasm for the hero of the piece, or with enthusiasm for the hero of the piece, or to prepossess against him, he is not, in my view, himself, but the embodied art; and I would venerate him and the talent of the artist so long as they delighted me. But this could never prepossess me for the man himself, if he knew not how to win my regard in another way," replied Erika. "I would therefore withhold my approbation from a man truly worthy of my esteem and love, just as little because he is a book hero, and has to contend with the prejudices of the world. I honor the man in a frock, as well as in a hermelin; in a priestly robe, as in a harlequin's jacket; but not the dress upon either, or the accidental pre-eminence that nature has lavished on him, and for the possession of which he never labored—a possession which fell to his share without his secoperation. To be proud of such contingen-

tollowed her.

While the carriage rolls up the court-yard let it hasten along, and we will take a peep into Adrian's room, where, buried in books and papers, he sat at his desk, when the Duke's page entered, with his Highness's invitation to come over to the saloon to tea. with the painter's album, he took his place next to Seraphine, and a conversation took place between them in a suppressed tone, about flocks and flowers, rays and colors—an inde-scribable medley of bashfulness and acquies-

Seraphine was transported, enchanted, and in Edmund's soul bloomed brightest hopes. Erika seemed not to partake with them; yet the sweet tones rang in her ears, and a tear, unobserved, trembled on her eyelashes. It was unobserved, trembled on her eyelashes. It was the first time in her life that she wished to other motive? Much better never to marry." share a happiness, and that the wealth of oth-

In this manner passed the evening, in scanty poverty, which she hoped would be so interest-

ing to her.

"Thou art apparently quite unlike thyself, Sternhof," said Glöben, coming up to the former. "Why hast thou undergone so frightful a change, such waste of hair, and sacrificed thy fair locks to the hair-dresser's shears? There must be a special reason for this."

"Hast thou always a special reason for having thy hair cut?" asked Baler.

"And yet, I believe I can guess the motive of thy mecontent trimming," replied Glöben; "a certain resemblance has vexed thee."

Both gentlemen had now gone to hand the ladies into the carriage.

ladies into the carriage.

"It pains me that thou hast had so little entertainment, my child," said Count Eisheim to his daughter, when he found her alone, "and to see his album, and to consult him about the re-touching of an old masterpiece in his palace at Eschen."

"Then Edmund is coming?"

"Then Edmund is coming?"

"Yes, he sent the album beforehand, and "Yes,

Erika's lively interest in the arrangements a and the painter entered.

"I came for thee," said Edmund, saluting made it in some measure a duty to give her a full narrative of the consultation with the The young brother blushed and brightened for very hope and expectation, while the other blooked pale and serious.

It in arrative of the consultation with the painter, which he spun out longer than she and looked pale and serious.

> her heart.
>
> "Had I but the stream, the trees, the birds, and flowers," thought she, "then would I not feel so shockingly lonely among these people; and yet I would not wish to enjoy the delights of nature in common with them

## THE TWO YOUNG LADIES.

Erika found Seraphine not alone, when she visited her the following morning. A pair of milliners were with her, who alternately, with milliners were with her, who atternately, with the most superficial flattery, praised the young lady as to every article of dress. Open cartoons stood around on the chairs and tables; a cap, a hat, a collar, were alternately approved and found faulty; while Seraphine, with self-ap-proving smiles, glanced into the high pier glass, and lent a complacent ear to their adairing exclamations.

Erika passed through the strait of boxes to Seraphine, took her hand, and, without paying the least attention to the surrounding articles

"I am glad I met your aunt so opportunely."
And then, without waiting for an invitation,
took a seat on a small sofa in the young lady's

ndifference to what was of such magnitude in

ing as much as possible her displeasure with the interruption, "if I finish these articles of millinery before attending to you."

"Do so, Seraphine; we shall then be undis-

And Erika looked over a book lying on the table, without ever casting a glance at the dressing-glass.
This indifference of Erika might appear

rins indifference of Erika might appear feigned, but was not. Seraphine's conduct to-day contrasted too evidently with that of yes-terday, and was disgusting. She had come with the intention to speak seriously with her, but was now on the point of giving it up; when the latter put the dress aside, told the milliners to come again, and sat down beside

"You could not well bear to be poor, Sera-

"But whither shouldst it otherwise lead?"

"It dissolves itself, falls asunder, gives place to another. It is not long noticed. New acquaintances are made, the parties travel, and forget." Or marry?" said Erika.

"Or marry?" said Erika.
"There would be no hindrance to interesting a stranger," replied Scraphine, "particularly if the marriage be concluded on any other ground than love."

with his cracked voice he crooned over her about what they would do when they got back snatches of that hymn which had soothed his own infancy, and is even now sung by so many sweet-voiced matrons through the length and breadth of our land—Watts's Cradle Hymn.

Hut nis cracked voice he crooled over her about what hely would downen they got back their own again.

But, one by one, these kind old family friends dropped into their graves. At last, Widow Wilson went, too, and there arose a new set of And, en passant, let us say, friends, that many times, when, at eventide, those simple words, murmured by a well-beloved voice, to

the monotonous accompaniment of the rocking cradle and the hum of the myriad insect tribe, have reached us through the open winmagnificent hymn to Mont Blanc.

Mais à revenir. The little one drowsed awhile uneasily, and then opened her eyes

with a shudder.

"Oh, I am so cold! so very cold, grandfa

ther!" she moaned, while her shivering frame, slight as was, shook the bed. "Don't you think-they would let us have a little fire—just

The old man glanced wistfully towards the rusty stove, which, by the Doctor's orders, had been placed in their room some days before, and the good man doubtless thought that his little patient enjoyed the luxury of a fire. But since the first, which he built with his own But since the first, which he built with his own hands, had burnt down, there had been no light in their stove; for Sally Smart had decided that people who lie in bed all day "did not need, and, what was more, shouldn't have a fire!" Poor woman! she found her great fat the bed covering, felt of her feet, and drew baby quite a burden, since little Milly had baby quite a burden, since little Milly had

the angels; for, sometimes, when Bill Smart came home drunk, and cursed, and swore, and beat the children, until his wife's strong hand and sharp voice silenced him, she grew sorely troubled, and wept, for fear that the angels, which dear old Widow Wilson had told her so

the demon about him, until his neglect and harshness drove little Milly to seek home and not so exact with our looks, words, and mien; and that, in order not to die before the time, people occasionally get up a little comedy, that has no other object than to amuse. If any transient interest should lead to matrimony, there would be many more unhappy unions than there are now."

"But whither shouldst it otherwise lead?"

"But whither shouldst it otherwise lead?"

where nung to the floor with an oath, (we are sorry to say, that sometimes, especially when had behaved little better than a cheat in this affair; that he had tempted Colonel Lev to drink, and then taken advantage of his situation. They even went farther and threatened drink, and then taken advantage of his situation. They even went farther, and threatened to investigate the affair; but the long attack of fever that followed the old man's ejection from the house of his fathers, though it left his mind to such a degree that it was imposible to hope for any assistance from him; and, besides, just about that time 'Squire Norton, his warmest friend, died very suddenly; and the others, having a very salutary fear of lawsuits before their eyes, let the matter drop, and room, and found the child lying upon his pillows a corpse, with her old grandfather kneel-

trae, enjoyed a different education from mine; but your aunt thinks honorably. How came; but your aunt thinks honorably. How came; you to have such low ideas of duty and honor?"

"I have lived in the world."

"I pity you," answered Erika, and left the young girl in deep agitation.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

For the National Era.

SOLOMON PEPPERELL'S THANKSGIVING.

BY MARTHA RUSSELL.

SOLOMON PEPPERELL'S THANKSGIVING.

BY MARTHA RUSSELL.

Little Milly sighed sadly, for she had often apaused in the shadow of Judge Kane's grand monument to gather butter-cups, and here the parsonage stood had been given to the Society by the Colonel's father, and the four massive silver cups belonging to the communion service had been the gift of his maiden sister, Miss Polly.

So, when Milly's little orphan girl was sent by her mother's dying wish to her old home, and they saw how the old man clung to her, often in his wandering way speaking of her as his own Milly, they had not the heart to part them, and left the stay, the more willingly, as Widow Wilson had become much attached to the shadow of Judge Kane's grand monument to gather butter-cups, and knew for the parsonage stood had been given to the Society by the Colonel's father, and the four massive silver cups belonging to the communion service had been the gift of his maiden sister, Miss Polly.

So, when Milly's little orphan girl was sent who will was sent and they saw how the old man clung to her, often in his grace had been did not hear the heavy tramp of the bearers, as they carried the coffin out, nor the sobs of the mothers and little children as they followed. No; he was too ill for the stay, the whore he did get up, and found the good of the mothers and little children as they followed. No; he was too ill for the searers, as they carried the coffin out, nor the sobs of the mothers and little children as they followed. No; he was too ill for the stay followed. No; he was too ill for the stay followed. No; he was the wide sheep of the willing but when he did get up, and fou

town officers, who "knew not Joseph," and the old man and little Milly were finally sent to the

alms-house.

Perhaps he thought of all these things when old Bill Sims took the rail from his shoulder, tribe, have reached us through the open window, we have felt that we would rather have written those simple lines than Coleridge's geance, if he were ever caught in such an act again; for he stood as in a dream, giving not the slightest evidence that he comprehended a single word of the man's coarse abuse, until his companion interposed, swearing it was "too bad," and that he would "steal himself, if he needed wood on such a night as that."
Then the old man looked wistfully up in his face, and murmured, with a shudder—

"She was so cold, poor thing! but it will be warm weather by and by!"

The very words he muttered to the woman Mabel Greene, when, an hour or two later, she came in to light their bit of candle, and offered to sit up a while with the abild. to sit up a while with the child.

"No, no; Milly don't want watchers. She'll

"Mrs. Smart!" he repeated, angrily; "I have no need of that woman's services. You can stay yourself, Mabel Greene, if you insist upon it, but I shall take care of the child myself. You mistake her symptoms altogether!"

"Lord bless us!" muttered the woman, as she left the room, not sorry, perhaps, to escape a night's vigil in that cold place; "he is just

The Authors East in Practices the Significant of the Ball patches in the Significant of the Ball

ever met a gentleman with a compact, well-knit frame, a quick and vigorous step, and a face swarthy enough in hue, but not unlike, especially about the lower part, a certain emi-nent statesman, celebrated for his eloquence, you have seen Solomon Pepperell, Esq., President of the Farmers' and Drovers' Bank, di-

do not know that often, when he is smiling so blandly at their evening parties, or presiding with so much dignity at the meetings of stockholders and directors, the vision of a pale, childish face, its floating golden locks mingling with the gray ones of a wrinkled old man, rises before him, and sends the blood back from his swarthy cheek. Oh no, they do not know this; he never speaks of this; but they do know that he suffers from an "affection of the heart," poor man, and they commiserate him deeply, and admire the benevolence that, after such an attack, invariably leads him to subscribe liberally to some one of the charitable societies of the day. Ah, he is, indeed, a public-spirited man!

### DEMOCRACY OF SCIENCE.-No. 3. BY JOSIAH HOLBROOK

The abundant element and powerful agent The abundant element and powerful agent already referred to is called oxygen. Combined with nitrogen, it forms air; with hydrogen, water; with hydrogen and carbon, vegetables; with hydrogen, carbon, and nitrogen, animal matter; with the metals, it forms ores, rocks, and soils. Oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, nitrogen, and the metals, are the "Alphabet of Nature." This alphabet is so simple that a little child might learn it a hundred times while he could learn the alphabet of books once. It is so delightful as to be sought for and used by every young mind as the richest of all amusements. It is so boundless in extent, so infinite in its combinations, so illimitable in its uses, so transcendent and glorious in its beauty and majesty, as to put at defiance and render

the country and the Sahara, and another race occupy the southern and western parts. This race again may be divided into two families. What are called the Mountains of the Moon, as every person acquainted with the geography of Africa knows, separate the continent into nearly two equal parts, by a line running parallel and within a few degrees of the equator. Two-thirds of the population north of these mountains are Mohammedans; those at the south are Pagans, but not of a uniform character, differing from each other in habits and customs—some of which are of Egyptian origin—but more especially in language; yet notwithstanding these distinct characteristics, they both retain that of the negro, and in those who have been brought to this country no difference is perceptible. Various estimates have ference is perceptible. Various estimates have been made as to the population of Africa, the Arabs and Moors having been put down at fifty millions, and the others at one hundred—making in all one hundred and fifty millions. Of course, in making this estimate, the utmost accuracy cannot be expected; but he was disposed to think the population could not be less

than had been stated. His remarks, he said, must be necessarily limited to the maritime range of country, where the natural scenery is of great variety and beauty, particularly in the vicinity of Cape Palmas, and also on the Niger coast, and what are called the table lands. On the Gold coast "Views differ on this point. Permaps"
"No, indeed."
"But you will think less rigidly when you live longer in the world."
"I would not wish to live longer in a world that rests on such principles, and waves her banner in deceit, in which one cannot look upon another with a quiet conscience, or is compelled to despise himself."

Meigs and other indeed in the world in the said, that when his pittauce was exhausted, they paid the ompelled to despise himself."

Meigs and other indeed in the world grandfather kneeling speechless beside her, and their master in sensible upon the floor. He did not know that his pittauce was exhausted, they paid the weeky stipend to the widow out of their own pockets; for they were people of the old stamp, pockets; for they were people of the old stamp, and not forget that he was the last of a saving and sobbing, with walls built of clay. Here the people live in a greater degree of comfort, and when compared with those on the Grain coast, seem to be more civilized. Further along coast, seem to be more civilized.

An impression, he said, very generally prevails, that the climate of Africa is intolerable; which is not the case in the vicinity of the seawhich is not the case in the vicinity of the sea-coast, where the heat is seldom so oppressive as it is in Washington during the summer months; and the country is far from being what it is generally considered—the grave of the white man—and is far more salubrious than other locations that have been selected for mercantile pursuits. The longevity that may be attained is evident, from the circumstance that he met missionaries who had resided there fifthere twenty, and who were still in the enjoy-ment of good health. He admitted that the climate is less fatal than formerly, which is to be attributed to a superior mode of living, bet-ter society, and understanding how to manage the diseases of the country.

As to Government in Africa, there is noth-

dent of the Farmers' and Drovers' Bank, director of divers Railway and Insurance Companies, father of the Hon. Wm. Pepperell, M. C., &c.

Shrewd papas point him out as a model to their sons, and wise mammas think him a very agreeable man—no bad match for Julia Matilda, or even the pretty little Ida Emilia. They do not know that often, when he is smiling so handly at their evening parties or presiding.

pended; the chief cause of which was the activity of the British ships; but which, he said, could not have been effected without the cooperation of the American and Brazilian forces. Commerce is establishing itself under the protection of those squadrons, the entire coast being kept in a state of strict blockade, which renders the slave trade so unprofitable that it renders the slave trade so unprofitable that it has been abandoned; while the natives, finding their gains in this way so uncertain, have turned their attention to the manufacture of palm oil; and the advantage they experience from this change is such, that they will not, after a few years, abandon it for their former practices, should the naval force be ultimately withdrawn.

When the missions were first established in

When the missions were first established in Africa, there existed no religion, the natives\* had no Sabbath, nor had they ever heard of Jesus Christ. Now, there are churches established, and upwards of one hundred youths are taught to read and write, and portions of the Bible have been translated into the two predominant languages. The missionaries are

# STATE RIGHTS.

The particular clause of the Constitution which relates to the rendition of persons held to service or labor, who may escape from one State to another, and the decision of courts under discussion of late, that other and more impor-tant clauses of the Constitution seem to have been neglected. Among these is that most essential clause reserving all powers not granted to the General Government to the States themselves. Had this clause been duly consided, and the doctrine of State Rights insisted upon and upheld at the North with the same vigor that it has always been at the South, the Fugitive Slave Law never would have been relaxed. In this particular case, the South relaxed their vigilance, as it was a measure supposed to be favorable to their interests, and a law insisted upon as an additional bond to the Union; but never was a greater mistake made at the South than this, never was a more fatal blow given to the Union, never was there an act passed tending so strongly to consolidation as this. A few Southern statesmen have foreseen this result, and with much sagacity, and with an independence to be commended, have declared their opinion of this tendency, if not of its unconstitutionality. If the General Government can so far crush State Rights, and override State Laws so as to destroy, in a manner, their most cherished institutions and privileges at the North, why may it not be a precedent for doing the same thing at the South, whenever power changes hands? If the General Government is made an instrument for the protection, extension, and support of slavery, so as even to carry its oppressive ry, so as even to carry its oppressive acts to the very hearth-stone of every man at the North, why may not the same power be used to sweep every vestige of slavery from the land, and in-vade those States where it has always been considered a local curse, or blessing, but with which the General Government could not in-

A precedent has now been widely establish ed for the interference of the General Governteen, eighteen, and twenty years; and what was more conclusive, he had known men engaged in mercantile pursuits, who had dwelt in Africa thirty-eight, forty, and forty-two invasion of State Rights, this violation of all our dearest sympathies, our sense of justice, and our most cherished religious convictions. This hostility will not break out into rebellion against unjust law, it may not even seek to remedy the wrong under the plea of State Rights, for this jealousy of State Rights has always been comparatively weak at the North, where the tendency has always been towards consolidation; and this Fugitive Slave Law has wonderfully strengthened this feeling. It seems now as if we had no State Govern-

ment, or that it is weak and puny, overshadowed completely by the General Government, either for good or evil. If for evil, consolidation has brought it upon us. Consolidation must, therefore, be the remedy. We bide our time. If the General Government is so potent for evil, it must be equally potent for good. If it regards not the clauses of the Constitution to protect and support liberty, why should it, in the right hands, regard the clauses, or the un-derstanding to continue slavery? It cannot be said now at the North, that we have nothing to said now at the North, that we have nothing to do with slavery; neither can this plea be made hereafter by those who support slavery. If the United States can constitutionally pay the expenses of returning fugitives to bondage by a summary process, why cannot the same power be exercised to set all slaves free by paying their value, or such a price as may be thought fit—and this accomplished by a summary process? If this was the law, doubtless, there would be more registrace to law at the South than at be more resistance to law at the South than at the North; but would the South have a right to say there was no precedent for it—that it was an invasion of State Rights, &c.? If might makes right in one, case why not in the other?
To all this, it is said by the South, the clause in the Constitution relating to the escape of parties owing service or labor has always been construed to mean slaves; and if the States do not fulfil their obligations, the United States must do it; but it is said to be a bad rule that will not work both ways. The South are constantly violating that portion of the Constitution which declares a citizen of one State to be entitled to all the rights and privileges of a citizen when in another State. This is not denied, but the excuse given by the South is, that the imprisonment of free colored citizens is a necessity above law. But why is it a necessity, more than freedom from the fines and imprisonment of Northern citizens for refusing to do what the respectable class of slaveholders refuse to do themselves? Is slavery a necessity, and liberty a non-essential. All laws are more

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hiladelphia

PAPH. rveying, gau-ned by a few on. Mass.

Joel Parker, J. S. Senator,) Esq., Lyman Walker, Prof. Hall, Cincin-March 25.

of shall grow t fade, and the ereof for medgo, and every ses that afflic o an untimely joined we give and that Pul-

any proportion low named will une 26, 1851. ry Pectoral for o hesitation in

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afflicted with a aired of recovet up all night in hen I laid down. relief, I at last CANDLESS. Asthma which April 17, 1848. d with Asthma ged to sleep in being unable to by medicines to a as an experi-

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go on in the present direction, the ultimate severing or breaking is a question of time alone. Time, which cures most evils, would atone. Time, which cures most evils, would have been a remedy for slavery, if let alone. It is a common thing to charge all the present state of feeling upon the Abolitionists. This is unjust; for it can be easily proved that slavery is the aggressor. If the South had been at any time sincere in a desire to get rid of slavery, there would have been no Abolitionists, so called; and now there is far more than ists, so called; and now there is far more, ten-fold more bitterness and uncharitableness at the South, even towards each other, than ever was chargeable towards each other, than ever was chargeable towards the Abolitionists. It is but a few days since, that a slaveholder was lynched in Virginia, because he was supposed to regard slavery as an evil, and was supposed to have some design of freeing his own slaves; and when he appealed to a court for redress, it was dispersed by a mob. When did Abolitionists ever show such a spirit as this? It is not unusual to hear slave-owners deprecate the system, detail its trials and vexations, but yet

they cling to it as to life itself; and whatever they may say, there are many reasons why they refuse, and always will refuse, to listen to any propositions for the abolition of slavery, or even any amelioration of it.

But neither can slavery be passive; to be continued, it must of necessity be aggressive. Hence the inconsistency of the South in continually exclaiming against Northern Abolition, aggression, &c. This is only a pretence for aggression on their part, which of course begets resistance. The difference between us is simply a matter of conscience and a matter simply a matter of conscience, and a matter of convenience or interest. The people at the of convenience or interest. The people at the North are fast making a matter of conscience to resist the aggressions of slavery. Its evils are brought home to every one by the Fugitive Slave Law as it never was before. We must do right, if we die for it. We must obey the Divine voice speaking to our souls, and we cannot itself to the Southern to th vine voice speaking to our souls, and we cannot yield these convictions to the Southern demands for the extension and perpetuation of such wrongs, and to which we are so unwillingly made participants. Our Government we feel to be perverted from the object of its greation and the design of its founders. It must be purified and brought back to its first principles, or it will cease to exist.

## WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JULY 8, 1852.

We publish the protests of Mr. Tappan and Dr. Le Moyne against the action of the manner in which the Call for a National Free Soil or Free Democratic Convention has been framed and issued. There seems to have been a misunderstanding somewhere, but fortunately this does not stand in the way of the assem bling of the Convention at Pittsburg. That body will, doubtless, determine for itself, what, in its judgment, the interests of the Cause of Freedom require.

Mr. Giddings's Speech, on the fourth page, is one of his very best.

# ACCEPTANCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVEN-

We find in the Washington Union, copies the correspondence between Mr. Pierce and the Committee appointed to inform him of his nomination. The Committee say-

"You will be free to exert your tried abilities within the path of duty, in protecting that re-pose we happily enjoy, and in giving efficacy and control to those cardinal principles that have already illustrated the party which has have already illustrated the party which has selected you as its leader—principles that regard the security and prosperity of the whole country, and the paramount power of its laws, as indissolubly associated with the perpetuity of our civil and religious liberties.

"The Convention did not pretermit the duty of reiterating those principles, and you will find them prominently set forth in the resolutions it adopted. To these we respectfully invite Mr. Pierce, in his reply, dated Concord.

"I shall always cherish with pride and voice which first pronounced for me, and pro-nounced alone, came from the mother of -a pride and gratitude rising far above ences that can betide me person

"May I not regard it as a fact pointing to the overthrow of sectional jealousies, and look-ing to the perennial life and vigor of a Union cemented by the blood of those who have passed to their reward-a Union wonderful in its formation, boundless in its hopes, amazing in its destiny! I accept the nomination, relying upon an abiding devotion to the interest, the honor, and the glory of our whole country, but, beyond and above all, upon a power superior to all human might—a power which, from the first gun of the Revolution, in every crisis through which we have passed, in every hour of our acknowledd peril, when the dark clouds have shut down around us, has interposed, as if to baffle human wisdom, outmarch human forecast, and bring out of darkness the rainbo of promise. Weak myself, faith and hope re-pose there in security. I accept the nomination upon the platform adopted by the Convention, not because it is expected of me as a candidate, but because the principles it embraces command the approbation of my judgment; and with them I believe I can safely say there has been no word or act of my life in conflict.'

Mr. Pierce, then, holds that "all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of Slavery. are fraught with "the most alarming and dan gerous consequences;" pledges himself "to the Compromise, "including the Fagitive Law: and unites with the Democratic Party in th pledge to "resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery Question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made," whether moral, religious, or political-whether in opposition to the aggressions of Slavery, or with a view to the promotion of Emancipation. He concurs with General Scott in relation to the Compromise measures, but goes far beyond him when he pledges himself against the agitation of the question of Slavery, under whatever shape or

There is something extremely audacid this declaration. Not long since, the question of Slavery was agitated in Kentucky, with view to Emancipation, and the leading men of that State, including Henry Clay, took part in it. Should the question hereafter be renewed, under similar circumstances, we have the solemn pledge of Mr. Pierce, and of the Convention that nominated him, that he will resist the agitation! Resist the agitation of the question of Slavery by Kentuckians, in Kentucky! The pledge is absolute, unqualifiedcovers all supposable cases of agitation of the Slavery Question, anywhere!

And then, this aspirant for Presidential honors under Democratic auspices, is at pains to let the world know that he does not simply acquiesce in the platform-he does not accept its principles for the sake of obliging his friends, suse the necessities of Party require it-"but because the principles it embra command the approbation of my judgment, and with them I believe I can safely say there has been no record or act of my life in con-

That is true. His record is clean and unspotted in this respect; and the fact that he hoasts of this, shows that in his judgment the Democracy of the North concurs with him. On the strength of his devotion to these principles, which he ought to know are disavowed by large portion of the Democratic Party in the free States, he challenges the support of the whole! Suppose he had taken the same true and bold ground in favor of relieving the Federal Government from all responsibility for Slavery, which Martin Van Buren and the ocracy of New York took in 1848.

many votes would he have received from Southern Democrats? Are they so wedded to their Party that they would have sustained him Would they have discovered some alchemi process for separating a man from his Principles, so that they could vote for the former, without supporting the latter? Alas! Such alchemy is peculiar to the North! Politicians

know it, and shape their movements according They yield Principle to the South, and calculate on carrying the North by Party machinery, in defiance of Principle. And so often has the experiment succeeded, that this time they are repeating it in a more flagrant form than ever. Let the experiment prove successful, and how long, we ask once more, ere the Democratic Party be redeemed from bondage to a Sectional, nay, an enormous Class Interest, and be allowed to fulfil its true mission-

### THE PAST AND THE PRESENT.

The Liberty Party was organized in 1840 during the Presidential canvass, and cast 7,000 votes. In 1844, its vote for James G. Birney was 61,572. At no election, we believe, did i cast more than seventy thousand votes, and before the year 1848, indications convinced us that it had reached its culminating point, and was already in a state of decadence. year was rendered memorable by the struggle on the question of the Extension of Slavery the People of the North becoming generally roused to resistance to the demands of th Slave Power. The old political organization disregarded, to a greater or less extent, the peculiar sentiments of the North. The Democratic National Convention repudiated the policy which proposed to prohibit, by positive law, the extension of slavery, and concurred in a Presidential nomination, dictated by the Slave Power. The Whig Convention abstained from any expression of opinion on the great question at issue, and put in nomination a can didate uncommitted upon it.

A portion of the Whigs of the North, dis atisfied with this course, and a still larger portion of the Democrats of the same section offended by the conduct of their Conventions determined upon independent action. The Liberty Party assenting to the withdrawal of its candidate, already nominated, became the medium of a union between the recusant Whigs and Democrats, and merged itself in the Buffalo Convention, of August, 1848, which gave form and direction to the practical Anti-Slavery Sentiment of the country, by the adoption of a platform of political action, and by the nomination of independent candidates for the Presidency. From that time, the old Liberty Party has had no existence, although small party, so called, holding the doctrine that the abolition of Slavery within the States s within the scope of the Federal Government, has maintained a distinct organization in a few of the States, never casting, however, more than two or three thousand votes

The general object of the Buffalo moven vas the divorce of the Federal Governmen from Slavery; its immediate and peculiar object the preservation of Freedom in the Territories acquired from Mexico. In our judgment, the Liberty men acted wisely, in consenting to waive their separate organization, and uniting with their fellow-citizens who concurred with them in relation to these objects. Had they stood aloof, they would either have prevented any movement against slavery, adapted to the crisis, and of force enough to make a decided impression, or they would have been reduced those who had till then rallied under their banner, with a view to join in a more imposing and practical demonstration. Uniting with the disaffected of both the old parties, it stamped its principles upon the new organization, and gave a vitality still operative and potential.

The ground taken by the Buffalo Conventio relation to Slavery, reached the full length, not of the desires of the Abolitionists, but of the political responsibilities of the North. We do not admit that the standard of political Anti-Slavery action was lowered by that Convention. A National Political organization cannot legitimately propose to remedy a grievance for which the nation is not responsible, and for the removal of which the National Government i nvested with no power. The Free Soil, or the Free Democratic Party, organized by the Buffalo Convention, sought to obtain the control of the Federal Government; but the Federal Government has no power to abolish Slavers in the States, nor is it politically responsible for its existence there. Consequently, that Party did not declare its object to be the abolition of State Slavery: the declaration would have implied the assumption of the doctrine of Federal political responsibility and power, in relaion thereto. But, carefully measuring the responsibilities and powers of the Government, it ledged itself to go to their full extent, in antilavery action, as will be seen by the following

" Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsi-bility for the existence or continuance of Slavery wherever that Government possesses con-stitutional authority to legislate on that sub-ject, and is thus responsible for its existence."

It denied to the Federal Government the power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; it asserted that the original, settled policy of the Nation was, not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage Slavery; and accepting the issue forced by the Slave Power, announced, in reply to its demand for more Slave States and more Slave Territory, " no more Slave States, and no Slave Terri-

could go, unless it assumed the doctrine that the Constitution confers on the Federal Government power to abolish Slavery in the States. The men who met at Buffalo, the voters they represented, and the old Liberty Party which united with them, did not hold this doctrine and therefore could propose no political object or measure, which would imply it.

We deny, then, that there was any lowering of the standard of anti-slavery political action by the Buffalo Convention, or the organization t formed. The abolition of slavery in the States is to be effected by the action of the citizens of those States, individually, through their Conventions, or through their Legisla tures, or in all these ways. Such political ac tion as we have defined must tend to favor tha end, and is in harmony with other agencies continually operating, such as philanthropic associations, discussions by the press, and ecdesiastical action, the declared object of which is to bring about general emancipation by

But, let every organization measure its r sponsibilities and powers, and limit its action by them. Why should it invite misconstrucion, and provoke unnecessary opposition? ountenanced any Federal political

never propose or countenance any other. We could not act with a national political or-

The organization formed by the Buffalo Convention embraced all the free States and reached into several of the slave States. Its nominees had been chosen, first, with a view to command the largest possible vote, second-ly, with a view to the defeat of the Democratic mind be narcotized—that the apprehension of ly, with a view to the defeat of the Democratic ticket, deemed the more dangerous to freedom, on account of the platform it represented, the agencies which brought it out, and the peculiar views and position of the candidates. We do acquisitions for the use of Slavery. Hence, the may hold different opinions, may dissent from not say that the latter view influenced all the members of the party, but it certainly was a leading motive with the radical Democrats, who constituted a large proportion of it. They did not suppose that, in seeking the defeat of General Cass specially, they were compassing the the application of the Principle of Equality of ruin of the Democratic party, but they held Rights to all the conditions and interests of basis that the party, having placed itself in a false position, ought to be defeated, so that it might be induced to emancipate itself from Pro-Slavery thraldom; and still further, that the cause of Freedom had less to apprehend from the success of General Taylor than of General Cass. Meantime, the whole organization felt that a large vote for Freedom, even though not enough to carry the electoral ticket of a single State, would exert a restraining influence on the new Administration, whether it should be Whig or Democratic, which would hesitate before it would venture flagrantly to defy a Public Sentiment so powerful at the North, as, on the eve of a Presidential clection, with all its political prizes in prospect, to drive from the ranks of the old parties some three or four hundred thousand voters. November came-Martin Van Buren

cived three hundred thousand votes-the Democratic party, with its avowed pro-slavery policy, was overthrown-General Taylor was

Now, we claim, without hesitation or doubt that the policy of the Buffalo movement was not only sound in its principles, constitutional in its scope, wise in its details, but that it was most beneficent in its results. Had there been no such movement, the probability is that General Cass would have been elected: and, in that case, California would have been placed under Territorial Government Utah are now, but with this difference, that Slavery would have taken possession of its soil and founded a new empire on the shores of the Pacific: New Mexico would have been swallowed up by Texas: and the conspiracy for the acquisition of Cuba would have met with no such obstacles as the Administration. first of General Taylor, and then of his suc cessor, interposed. Or, had General Cass failed his competitor would have come into the Executive office, exempt from the pressure of demonstration of political anti-slavery power at the North, teaching him moderation and caution, and then he would have had no mo tive to favor the organization of State Governments in the Territories. It was the three hundred thousand voters for the Wilmot Proviso, it was the strength infused by their organization into the anti-slavery wing of the Whig party. it was the notorious fact that these voters would be joined by numerous deserters from the old parties, should sufficient provocation be given, that made it necessary for Gen. Taylor's Administration, whatever might have been its policy under other circumstances, to evade a direct ssue with Northern Sentiment, by encouraging the formation of State Governments in California, New Mexico, and Utah-and that, too, at of citizenship. a time when crowds of emigrants from the free whole of California as a non-slaveholding State, for the Democratic party, through Mr. Polk. had been committed in support of its claim. General Taylor and his Secretary of State, Mr. Clayton, were committed against it, and we all know the determined front he assumed when he declared that New Mexico was under being appeased by a bonus of ten millions. Could we foresee his death? As it was, New Mexico was saved, after all, (though by the extortion of money in liquidation of a groundless claim,) and if she does not remain free, it will not be because the Free Soil organization did not do all that could be done.

And are we to regret a movement which has contributed so largely to results so vast vital, and enduring?

That it has not achieved still greater result is to be attributed, not to any want of principle in its platform, or wisdom in its policy, but to two distinct causes:

The fact, that the controversy respecting its mmediate object-the freedom of the Territories-has lost much of its importance from the organization of the most valuable of them into a free State, and from the absence of any im minent danger, in the opinion of the People generally of the introduction of slavery into the rest of them : (we believe they are overconfident, but still this is the general senti-

And the fact, that the Barnburners or radica

Democrats of New York, after absorbing the great mass of the anti-slavery voters of that State, so far forget their pledges given at the Buffalo Convention-"to seek the divorce of slavery from the Federal Government"-as to reunite with their former Hunker associates, upon a Hunker platform, in utter disregard and derogation of that great object. This was a lamentable error and in violation of princi- feat of the Democratic party then did work ple. Many of them now admit it, but plead good, and was only prevented from working that it is too late to remedy the mischief. Had out its disenthralment from the power of Slathe radical Democracy stood firmly by the principles (which they deliberately proclaimed at Buffalo, in 1848, and solemnly pledged hemselves to maintain,) they would in time have controlled the State of New York, and from following up the advantage which they have given such a direction to the Democratic party in other States, as would have enabled the sentiment of Freedom to determine the coming Presidential election.

But let us not lay the blame of their error and inconsistencies upon the Buffalo movemen It is not responsible for them, nor is it a failure It accomplished, in a great degree, its imm diate object, though the general object-the divorce of Slavery from the Federal Govern

ment-remains yet unaccomplished. So much for the Past:-Has it no lessons for the Present? What do we see? Slavery is struggling to regain what it has lost in Cali-fornia, with the hope of at least dividing that fornia, with the hope of at least dividing that State with Freedom. Executive influence emanating from Washington, may promote o baffle its operations. The Territories are pro- ly say that we should greatly prefer the nomibaffle its operations. The Territories are protected against its incursions only by a prevailing opinion that it cannot thrive upon their soil; but the discovery of valuable mines, that could be worked only by hard labor, would soon show the necessity of stern principle in the Territorial Judiciary, or positive enactment the only question is, whether the independent

mus; future annexations in both quarters threaten, and we know what is the ulterior object. The conspiracy against Cuba is not abandoned: it only awaits more favorable non-slaveholders of further Slavery-extension schemes be allayed—and that security be taken for the future recognition of territorial introduction of new slave States, and to resist all attempts to continue or renew the agitation of the question of Slavery, no matter under whatever shape or color. This pledge encounters little or no opposition. Mr. Pierce, the Democratic candidate, accepts it, strongly sanctions the whole series of resolutions, not because they were adopted by the Convention. but because he cordially concurs in their principles, and in the language of his own declaration, no word or act of his life is in conflict with them. His nomination is the work (according to Mr. Forsyth of Georgia, a Disunion Democrat) of the Southern Rights Democrats-

ly upon his willingness to fulfil their demands. The Whig Convention also has endorsed the Compromise, forbearing, however, to declare war against Free Discussion.

This endorsement was resisted by sixty-six

Slavery, and who resisted the Compromi

nembers of the Convention; not enough, however, to control that body. General Scott is its candidate. His nomination, it is true, was strengously urged by these sixty-six members. and by the delegates disinclined to the endorsement of the Compromise and was carried at last by the vote of the free States, with but thirteen members from slave States. It is true too, that Messrs, Toombs, Stephens, Abercrom bie. Centry, Williams, and several other Southern Whig members of Congress, have issued a card, in which, assigning as reasons the circunstances above stated, they say that General Scott is the candidate of the Free Soil wing without the Proviso, just as New Mexico and of the Whig party, and therefore they will not support him. It is true, that in his letter of aceptance, he does not declare his approval of the entire platform, and especially disavoved the policy of proscription for opinion's sake, should be be elected President. all these things their due weight, still they constitute no claim upon the support of the friends of Freedom: at the most, they show that the Whig ticket is not so objectionable as the emocratic; and we might, therefore, as in the election of 1848, desire specially to see the Democratic party defeated. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that the Whig Conention did adopt the platform, by which the Compromise measures were endorsed, and that General Scott, whether cordially or not, has accepted that platform and its obligations.

How, then, can independent voters, dete ined to denationalize and limit Slavery, dedicated to the 'establishment of this policy, vote for a candidate who, in accepting the Whig platform, identifies himself with a policy the ery reverse of this? Men must be true to their own convictions; and if they would vindicate right principles, and exert influence in their favor, they must not violate them in the exercise of one of the most important rights

But practical politicians are apt to contemn and settled in their convictions that the North | bono? What practical result are we to gain? would never consent to receive California as a What was proposed and expected in 1848? free State, were rapidly filling it up. The The Free Soil men did not expect to carry a grand result of this combination of influences | single State, but by what practical view did was, the organization and admission of the they justify their conduct? Whoever may be the successful candidate, they said, the best and the perpetual exclusion of Slavery (as we security for Freedom will be a large vote, given still hope, notwithstanding the desperate strug- directly in support of its demands, in utter disgle of the slavery propagandists) from the regard of all party prejudices and requireshores of the Pacific. Another fact must not ments. No Administration will dare defy be overlooked. Had General Cass been elect- an organization of three hundred thousand ed, Texas would have devoured New Mexico. voters, consecrated to the establishment of a Principle, which though distinctively represented only by them, is cherished by a majo ity of the voters of the free States, who act with their old organizations, under the impres sion that this is the better way, but who will be inevitably driven to the ranks of the indethe protection of the United States. Had he pendent organization, should their just expect lived, Texas would have been baffled, without ations be disappointed. The argument of 1848 is the argument for 1852. Triumph who may, the best safeguard for Freedom, the surest restraint upon his Administration, will be the fact that three hundred thousand voters have spurned all party obligations, all party prejudices, all the seductions and intimidations party, for the sake of giving a distinct testi-

> Free Labor, and Free Men. And what said the radical Democrats 1848? Not only do we rely upon the power of from all responsibility for Slavery! a large vote to restrain the action of whateve Administration may be formed, but we contem plate with satisfaction the probable defeat of the Democratic party from this movement No harm can follow this. The Democrati party is really the party of the country it olicy is so rooted and grounded in its legisla tion that it cannot be unsettled, even should the Executive power pass into the hands of its opponents. When, in violation of its se cred principles, it bows to a Class Interest eter nally hostile to them, and seeks ascendence through its alliance, it ought to be defeated Its defeat will save the country from evils which the Slave Power can inflict through its powerful machinery alone, and will teach it that it can look for triumph only in single eyed devotion to its fundamental Truths.

mony at the ballot-box in favor of Free Soil

The argument they used in '48 is applicable in '52. The relative positions of the two parties and the two sets of candidates now, find their parallel in the annals of 1848. The de very, by the ambition of a few of the leader of the radical Democrats of New York, who intent on their own personal aggrandizemen debauched their followers, and turned them had gained in the defeat of General Cass.

What is the practical lesson? Let all tru hearted men try again. The Pittsburg Convention, to meet on the 11th of August ensuing, will afford a fair opportunity for renewing the experiment. Our appeal is not to the "leaders," but to the People; and, as an individual, speaking simply on our own responsibility, we say, let the Convention at Pittsburg ing its principles, first, with a view to command the largest possible vote; and, secondly, with a view to prevent a larger draft on the ing to entertain the views that shaped the policy of the radical Democrats in 1848, we frankof labor.

We have spoken frankly, as is our wont we have spoken as an independent man, and no one is responsible for aught that we have said. Letters have reached us from all parts of the country, calling upon us to give our views. They are now published, and will be taken for what they are worth. Others the course we propose. We have no contro versy with them. "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind," and then speak and act, with a constant recognition of the right of others to speak and act from their

HENRY CLAY. Henry Clay was born in Virginia, in 1777 of parents of limited means; at an early period was thrown upon his own resources in conse quence of the death of his father; studied law n a Clerk's office, in Richmond; emigrated when quite young, to Kentucky, and settled in Lexington, where he soon rose to the first rank in his profession. He was elected a member of the General Assembly, of which he was chosen of the very men who are seeking to extend Speaker; in 1806 was elected to the Senate of the United States: and from that time, with cause it admitted California as a free State little intermission, has been engaged in public They claim him as their first choice-they relife, filling the several posts of Senator, Repre sentative, Speaker of the House, Minister Plenipotentiary, and Secretary of State, with distinguished ability.

In early life he was an eloquent advocate of the cause of Emancipation in Kentucky, subse-quently, and to the end of his days, a prominent supporter of the American Colonization

On all the important political questions that agitated the country, from the beginning to the close of his public career, a period of near y fifty years, he was a prominent actor, always ccupying the position of a leader. He was one of the most powerful champions of the war of 1812 in defence of Neutral Rights, and an eloquent advocate of "aid and comfort" to the cause of South American and Greek Independ ence. He was the leading supporter of the policy of a National Bank, of a Protective Ta riff, of Land Distribution, of a general system of Internal Improvements by the Federal Government. With those measures he was identified; his mightiest energies were devoted to the work of winning for them public favor; but he lived to see every one of them virtually abandon ed by the Party of which he was the governing mind, and a policy the reverse of that which they represented, established in the legislation of the country. The immediate annexation of Texas was accomplished in opposition to hi views of policy; the settlement of the Oregon Question, brought about by means which in his judgment threatened the peace of the country; and the war against Mexico, undertaken and prosecuted in repugnance to his sen

It may therefore be said, that of all the great measures named, those have failed with which his name is peculiarly associated, and those have succeeded which encountered his special opposition.

After a long life of wonderful activity, in which he stood pre-eminent, as an orator, debater, a tactician, a party leader; in which he secured a personal popularity and a power over his Party, probably unequalled, certainly insurpassed, he goes down to the grave, leaving no monument of his statesmanship on the Statute Book, except the Compromise Acts of quence except a collection of speeches, whose power depended more upon circumstar upon the voice, the eye, the arm, the quick aprehension of the orator, of the peculiaritie and prejudices of his audience, and the particular exigencies to be met, than upon any intrinsic and durable qualities.

Mr. Clay's latest efforts were perhaps as great as any he ever made. We shall never forget the vast resources he brought to the support of the Compromise Measures from the time ne introduced his Resolutions, till the final passage of those measures. His bodily strength seemed inexhaustible. He was ever on the alert, never taken by surprise; now vehement and impassioned, now subdued and insinuating; imperious, beseeching, deprecatory, by turns, as the circumstances demanded; infinite in expedients; always hopeful, always selfconfident. Deeply as we regretted the position he occupied, injurious as we thought (and still think) the system of measures he advocated, we could not but admire the wonderful qualities he displayed as a leader and tactician. Would that his extraordinary powers had been devoted to the great work of securing concord and peace by the establishment of Freedom as the fundamental law of our Territories, and and by divorcing the Federal Government

Mr. Clay was prevented by sickness from taking his seat in the Senate the last winter; and he soon became aware of his approaching end. His disease was lingering, and he suffered much. At one time, said Mr. Underwood, he observed-"When death was inevitable and must so

come, and when the sufferer was ready to die, he did not perceive the wisdom of praying to be 'delivered from sudden death.' He thought under such circumstances the sooner suffering was relieved by death the better. He desired the termination of his own sufferings, while he acknowledged the duty of patiently waiting and abiding the pleasure of God. Mr. Clay frequently spoke to me of his hope of eternal life, founded on the merits of Jesus Christ as a of his own sufferings, while he Saviour; who, as he remarked, came into the world to bring 'life and immortality to light.' He was a member of the Episcopalian Church. In one of our conversations, he told me that as his hour of dissolution approached, he found that his affections were concentrating more and more upon his domestic circle—his wife and children. In my daily visits he was in the habit of asking me to detail to him the transhabit of asking me to detail to him the transactions of the Senate. This I did, and he manifested much interest in passing occurrences. His inquiries were less frequent as his end approached. For the week preceding his death, he seemed to be altogether abstracted from the concerns of the world. When he became so low that he could not converse without being fatigued, he frequently requested those around him to converse. He would then quietly listen. He retained his mental faculties in great perfec-He retained his mental faculties in great perfection. His memory remained perfect. He fre-quently mentioned events and conversations of

eent occurrence, showing that he had a perfect recollection of what was said and d He said to me that he was grateful to God for continuing to him the blessing of reason, which enabled him to contemplate and reflect on his situation. He manifested during his confinement the same characteristics which marked his conduct through the vigor of his life. He select, if possible, a candidate, fully represent-ing its principles, first, with a view to com-'trouble,' as he called it. Some time before he knew it, we commenced waiting through the night in an adjoining room. He said to me, after passing a painful day, 'perhaps some one had better remain all night in the parlor.' From this time he knew some friend was constantly at hand, ready to attend to him."

Mr. Breckinridge, said:

"Not long before his death, having just re-curred from Kentucky, I bore to him a token of affection from his excellent wife. Never can words. After speaking of his family, and his country, he changed the conversation to his own future, and looking on me with his undimmed, and his voice full of its

ernment has power to abolish slavery in the States.

Let us return now to our historical sketch.

Let us return now to our historical sketch.

The organization formed by the Buffalo Conmus; future annexations in both quarters of the cause of Freedom, for a new field original compass and melody, he said: 'I am a demonstration as would justify him in foresome confidence. I do not think any man can be entirely certain in regard to his future state, but I have more an abiding trust in the merits and world in mediation of our Saviour.' It will assuage the grief of his family to know he looked hopefully beyond the tomb, and a Christian peeple will ejoice to hear that such a man, hours, reposed with simplicity and confidence on the promises of the gospel."

## Mr. Venable bore similar testimony:

"A Christian statesman is the glory of his age, and his memory will be glorious in after imes; it reflects a light coming from a source which clouds cannot dim nor shadows obscure which clouds cannot dim nor shadows obscure. It was my privilege, also, a short time since, to converse with this distinguished statesman on the subject of his hopes in a future state. Feeling a deep interest, I asked him frankly what were his hopes in the world to which he was evidently hastening 'I am pleased, (said he.) my friend, that you have introduced the subject. Conscious that I must die very soon, I least to meditate upon the most important of love to meditate upon the most important of all interests. I love to converse and to hear conversations about them. The vanity of the man has been long a settled conviction of my mind. Man's inability to secure by his own merits the approbation of God, I feel to be true. trust in the atonement of the Saviour of mer as the ground of my acceptance and my hope of salvation. My faith is feeble, but I hope in his mercy and trust in his promises.' To such declarations I listened with the deepest interest as I did on another occasion, when he said: 'I am willing to abide the will of Heaven, and eady to die when that will shall determine it."

Thus, one by one they disappear from the earth, and lie down with the innumerable dead. Adams, Calhoun, Clay, seemed the very pillars of State. The eyes of millions were turned to them, the hearts of millions gathered around hem. So vast were the interests that appaently depended upon their existence, they urely could not fall without danger to the poitical system of which they were such supports. But they have fallen, and yet the sysem stands. They no longer walk among us, but all things move on, according to their accustomed routine, as if nothing had hapened. They have gone down into the grave and the ocean of life rolls on in its monotone majesty, without a ripple over the spot where the wrecks have sunk

The great man, as he approaches the other world finds out of what little real importance o him are the inhabitants of this world, and they discover for the first time how unessential he is to their permanent welfare. We all eem for a while quite necessary to each other, but when Death calls us the revelation is made that human affairs are so ordered that indiidual men may rise and fall, like bubbles upon the wave, without checking or changing the proad sweep of that current which sets steadly from eternity to eternity, under the laws of n incomprehensible Providence. Adams, Calhoun, Clay, with all their vast

nergies, would have been insignificant in pubic affairs, had they not represented and suberved certain elements or principles, prevalent mong the masses. Clay represented the Principles of Compromise and Nationality; Calhoun, those of Slavery and State Rights; Adams, that of Fundamental Right. spirit of Compromise has not departed with Clay; the Slave Power did not die with Calhoun; and Hostility to Slavery and Wrong is still as active as though Adams lived to give voice to its generous indignation. It was not the Statesmen who created the Principles, but the Principles that created the Statesmen ; and their creative power is still at work, giving form, position, and influence, to the statesmen about to take the places of those who have disappeared from this stage of being.

## OBSEQUIES OF MR. CLAY.

Both Houses of Congress adjourned Tuesday, June 29th, in consequence of the decease of Mr. Clay. The next day they met, his death vas announced, a !dresses were made in each House, and the usual resolutions adopted. The speakers in the Senate were Messrs. Underwood, Cass, Hunter, Hale, Clemens, Cooper, Seward, Brooke, and Jones. A Committee of Arrangements was appointed, consisting of Hunter, Dawson, Jones of Iowa, Bright, and a committee to accompany the corpe to Kentucky, consisisting of Messrs. Underwood, Jones of Tennessee, Cass. Fish. Houston, and Stockton. Eulogies were delivered in the House by Messrs. Breckinridge, Ewing, Gentry, Caskie, Chandler, Bayly, Venable, Haven, Brooke, Faulkner, Parker, and Bowie.

Thursday, the day of the funeral, the public ffices and the stores were closed all husines being suspended, and the emblems of mourning appeared on nearly all the houses on the venue between the Capitol and the White House. The corpse was borne upon a magnificent car drawn by four gray horses, and between eleven and twelve o'clock the procession commenced moving from the National Hotel to the Capitol.

"In the procession, which was escorted by two or three of our military companies, were the members of the Senate of the United States, and many distinguished officers of the civil, military, and naval departments of the Government, together with the chief municipal officers and corporate bodies of Washington and Georgetown, and of the city of Baltimore. A large attendance of private citizens also testified their profound respect and reverence for the noble dead by uniting in the proession. The President of the United States, members of the Cabinet, and the Diplomatic Corps, had already proceeded to the Capitol n order to occupy their respective places in the Senate Chamber.

"At the Capitol, the coffin was removed to he Senate Chamber, where appropriate serrices were conducted according to the form of the Episcopal Church, by Dr. Butler. The corpse was then taken to the Rotundo of the apitol, where it remained until half past three clock, so that those who felt disposed might ook for the last time, on the face of one whose ame has filled the country. "About half past three o'clock, the corpse,

scorted by the military and followed by a nultitude of people, was removed from the Capitol to the Railroad Depot, and there placed n a car, in charge of the Senate Committee appointed to accompany the remains to their inal resting-place in Kentucky. "Solemn silence prevailed amongst the spec-

ators as the train departed for Baltimore, where it arrived at six o'clock. Its arrival at the outer depot of that city was announced by the firing of minute guns, which continued whilst the military and civic procession, which was there formed, slowly proceeded with its acred freight to the Merchants' Exchange, n the rotundo of which the body was placed for the night, under guard of a military com-

"The crowds attending the procession inparalleled, and so dense that the col with difficulty proceeded on its course."

In the cities through which the corpse has passed, we learn that similar honors have been

EXTRAVAGANT .- Suitable honors were paid by Congress to the mortal remains of Henry lay, and the speeches made in comm tion of his many great attributes were, bating the usual strain of exaggeration, well considered and quite eloquent. To this general re-

painfully. We quote from the remarks of Mr. Parker, a member from Indiana:

"Yesterday morning, at eleven o'clock, the spirit of Henry Clay—so long the pride and glory of his own country, and the admiration of all the world—was yet with us, though struggling to be free. Ere 'high noon' came, it had passed over 'the dark river,' through

the gate, into the celestial city, inhabited by all the 'just men made perfect.' "May not our rapt vision contemplate him there, this day, in sweet communion with the dear friends that have gone before him?—with Madison, and Jefferson, and Washingtion, and Henry, and Franklin—with the eloquent Tully, with the 'divine Plato,' with Aaron the Levite, who could 'speak well'-with all the

great and good, since and before the flood!

"His princely tread has graced these aisles for the last time. These halls will wake no nore to the magic music of his voice.

"Did the tall spirit, in its ethereal form, enter the courts of the upper sanctuary, bearing itself comparably with the spirits there, as was

his walk among men?

"Did the mellifluous tones of his greeting there enrapture the hosts of Heaven, comparably with his strains 'to stir men's blood' on

"Then, may we not fancy, when it was anry. HE COMES! HE COMES! there was a rust ing of angel-wings—a thrilling joy—up there, only to be witnessed once in an earthly age? Mr. Parker speaks with as much confidence

and dogmatism of the denizens of Heaven, as f he were the veritable St. Peter himself or had lately been communicating with them through some spiritual rapper. The subject of his extravagant eulogy did not undertake to people Heaven with a promiscuous sort of ociety, or to pronounce daringly on his own rospects; but with true Christian humility. which his eulogist would do well to emulate, disclaimed reliance on his own merits, and found his only hope in the mercy of God, through Jesus Christ. Of the mysteries of that spirit world he did not venture to speak. He vas favored with no revelation : we presume t never entered his heart to conceive that he was about to eclipse the bright spirits about the throne of the Highest. It was left for Mr. Parker to penetrate into the Holy Place, to catch a glimpse of Tully, Jefferson, and Franklin, there, and to guess that the angels would be taken rather aback by the majestic form and mellifluous voice" of one whom he evidently regards as greater than they.

With all deference to the Indiana member. we think this is making rather free with Heaven. It is work enough to unravel a few of the surface mysteries of this world, without plunging head and ears into that vast unknown which lies beyond the grave, and whose realities are beyond all mortal conception.

## BRITISH EMANCIPATION

The following item of news was received by

the Niagara:
"In the British Parliament, on Thursday petitions were presented from Jamaica, Anti-gua, St. Kitts, British Guiana, and the Mauritius, complaining of the distressed condition of those colonies, and assigning the sugar act of

1846 as the cause of their ruin."

Now, it is well known that Cuba and Porto Rico are prosperous, although their productions are like those of the British West Indies. Yet the Spanish Islands have no protective duties n their favor, but on the contrary have to encounter high export duties before their con nodities can go abroad, and then have to pay high protective duties before entering foreign ports. Yet the British colonists are too timid r too stupid to avow Emancipation as the ause of their ruin .- Southern Press

We should like somebody to tell us when hese British Islands were not in a distressed condition. There are documents on record which show that for twenty-five years preceding the act of Emancipation they were on the brink of ruin every year, just as they have been every year since that act. The original disease of the Islands was Slavery, which filled them with unintelligent laborers, and concentrated all labor and capital in the production of a few staples, whereby the wealth of the colonies was at the mercy of the seasons and those physical convulsions so common in the tropics; which led to absenteeism and the wasteful system of employing attorneys and overseers; generated habits of prodigality among the masters and unthrift among the slaves; and plunged the islands in debt so that before Emancipation there were few estates which were not covered over with mortgages. Bankruptcy and ruin would have come inevitably under such a system, and nothing but the Emancipation Act with its bonus of twenty millions prevented it. Since then, labor has been more diversified, and the women and children to a considerable extent have been taken from the plantations, so that a less amount of sugar is raised.

This fact, so far from telling against the Emancipation Act, is an illustration of its beneficent policy.

But the Southern Press overlooks a very im portant consideration. The British West India slands, under the system of slave labor, were rotected in the production of sugar, by disriminating duties almost prohibitory against foreign sugars. We have before us a table of duties on sugars imported into the United Kingdom from 1820 to 1844. The duty on British Plantation sugar for the five years ending 1824, was, for Muscovado, £1 7s. per cwt.; on Clayed, £1 12s.: foreign Muscovado, £3, Clayed, £4 3s. 8d. The next five years it was £1 7s. on both sorts of British Plantation sugars; £3 3s. on both sorts of foreign. The next ten years, it was reduced to £1 4s. on British Plantation ugars, but continued at £3 3s. on foreign.

This was the state of things down to 1840. two years after the Emancipation Act. The duties were then raised to £1 5s. 2d. on British Plantation sugars, and £3 6s. 1d. on foreign but in 1844 the foreign sugars were admitted under a duty of £1 15s. 8d.—being a difference of scarcely 11s. in favor of the domestic product; and in 1846, the duty on the latter was reduced to 17s. 6d. per cwt., and on the former to 21s.—showing a discrimination of but 3s. 6d. and thenforward both classes of sugar were subjected to a descending scale of duties until 1851, when it was enacted that the duty of 14s. should be levied equally on British and foreign Muscovados. An alteration was however made in 1849, increasing the discriminating duty between the domestic and foreign sugars to 5s. 6d. per cwt., and postponing the equali zation of the duties till the year 1854, when all Muscovado sugars, without distinction of country or origin, are to enter the British markets at 10s. per cwt. Meantime, according to a descending scale of duties, the discrimination in favor of the domestic sugars is now only 3s., and one year hence will be reduced to 2s

The fact which our cotemporaries have entirely overlooked is this: that with the system of slave labor the planters of the British colonies, under the operation of high discrimina ting duties, enjoyed nearly a monopoly of the British markets; while under the system of free labor this discrimination has been so nearly abolished that they have been brought into direct competition with the planters of Brazil and Cuba. They could not stand this competition with the slave-labor system, much less could they endure it with a system of free labor, requiring a change in their habits and modes of life and industry. While their force was necessarily and for good cause diminished on the plantations, by the withdrawal of the women an children to a great extent, and by the reason able limitation of the hours of labor; and while the work of replenishing their force till it was

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very slow process, the growth of sugar in Cuba and Brazil was powerfully stimulated by the new markets opened by the Free Trade policy of England, and the planters having the abso-lute control of their slaves, worked them all, men, women, and children, to the last degree of human endurance. Nor was this all. They made heavy drafts on Africa for additional laborers; for a table compiled from official returns shows, that while, during the five years preceding the Sugar Act of 1846, the number of slaves imported into Cuba and Brazil was 129,619, for the five years following that act, when the British markets were thrown open to foreign sugars, the number swelled to 259,665, or twice the number. In the same period, too, a great deal of the labor on the coffee plantations in Cuba was transferred to the sugar plantations; for in 1847, the amount of coffee produced was 106,914 quintals, and in

The facts we have stated show that the reason why the planters of the British colonies cannot sustain competition with the planters of Cuba and Brazil is, that it necessarily costs them more to produce sugar than it does their competitors. High discriminating duties might place them on an equality, so that they might come into the British market on even terms; but while a few thousand planters in the colonies would be the gainers, the millions of the British People would be the losers. It would be better that they should abandon the growth of sugar as an article for exportation, and turn their labor and capital into channels where they would be remunerated.

There is one way in which, probably, with-

out any discrimination, they might be able to compete with the Cuba planter. Let the system of Slavery be re-established. Give to a few thousand planters the absolute ownership of six hundred thousand people. Let the women and children be turned out to field labor. Let their schools and churches be razed. Let marriage be abolished, and concubinage be re-instituted. Let these six hundred thousand human beings be treated like brutes; in the sugar season be worked night and day, and every day in the week, Sunday included; let idea of raising new hands by the natural process of procreation be abandoned, and the slave trade be looked to as the means for sup plying the lack of force caused by the diabolical waste of life. Let these six hundred thousand human beings have just rags enough to cover their nakedness, just food enough to keep them in good working condition, just shelter enough to save them from death; allow them nothing that an intelligent being needs or de sires—then, perhaps, the "prosperity" which the Southern Press talks of, might be achieved. A few thousand selfish, sensual, avaricious scoundrels, would be able to "realize" enormous fortunes out of the labor of six hundred thousand human beings, transformed into beasts. This, we suppose, is the true republican idea of "prosperity."

### LITERARY NOTICES.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER. July, 1852. Boston Crosby, Nichols, & Co. For sale by Taylor & Maury Pennsyvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

The articles in this number are chiefly theo logical and controversial, presenting and arguing the peculiar doctrines of the Unita-THE AMERICAN WHIG REVIEW. July, 1852. New

York: Champion Bissell. For sale as above.

A writer in the Review the present month, in a letter to the publishers of Harper's New Monthly Magazine, makes an onslaught upon their enterprise, as well as that of others who their enterprise, as well as that of others who likely, venerable churches were recreating with a wild steeple-chase, or that the constant of the supplying our literary marting the habit of supplying our literary marting the wild steeple the time of the wind and some school-boys of the town. Your boys will be gratified to hear that the younger parting the wild steeple the wind and some school-boys of the town. Your boys will be gratified to hear that the younger parting the wild steeple the wild steeple to the wild steeple to the wild steep to th their enterprise, as well as that of others who are in the habit of supplying our literary market with the products of foreign writers. He exaggerates greatly the effects of this kind of enterprise upon Home Literature. Were the publishers of the New Monthly and the British Quarterlies to quit their business, we doubt whether the reading public would gain anything, or American writers be better patronized by periodical publishers. Let a man of ample means, comprehensive intelligence, and liberal spirit, commence a monthly or quarless and care. Many of them are exquisite liberal spirit, commence a monthly or quarhe will pay as he ought for contributions, he will hardly fail to find remunerative patronage. The republications of foreign literature will not stand in his way. There are several political articles in the Re

view, but none of much mark.

PEQUINILLO. A Tale. By G. P. R. James. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

James, though he has made his among us, and sends forth this tale copy-righted according to act of Congress, still lingers amidst life in London. We should like him to try his hand on some incidents in American History, and see whether he could give us a work equal in merit to his former historical

CHAMBERS'S POCKET MISCELLANY. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Penn-

A glance at the third volume confirms our opinion, formerly expressed, of this work. Its

adequate to the demand, was of necessity a periodicals and bound up in books, but, like which was by several sizes the greater ass of them, were just as well ungleaned

by R. Farnham, Washington, D. C. This is an essay, not a history—but an essay which in a concise form and clear style gives a very good idea of the spirit and principles that controlled the negotiations attending the inauguration of the United States as an independent nation. It may be read with profit.

CRAYON SKETCHES. By George W. Bungay. Boston

A series of off-hand sketches, quite animated, many of them faithful, of several distinguished public men in this country. We notice in Mr. Bungay's group not a few personages who will hardly be recognised beyond the limits of

ELEMENTS OF GEOLOGY. By Justin R. Loomis, Professor of Chemistry and Geology in Waterville Col-lege. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. For sale by

This book is a systematic and quite compre hensive statement of the principles of Geology, adapted to the use of schools and colleges, and accompanied with numerous illustrations. The qualifications of Professor Loomis for such a work are unquestionable.

WHAT Now? By Charles F. Deems, Profess Greenborough College, N. C. New York: M. W. Dodd. For sale by Taylor & Maury.

The young ladies to whom this little addre was dedicated, on the occasion of their leaving the institution, must have found many things in it to lay to heart. It contains a great deal gent sunlight—and often sunlight and shower of good advice.

Gentlement of good advice.

LIFE AND WORKS OF ROBERT BURNS. Vol. II. New York: Harper & Brothers. Edited by Robt. Chambers. For sale by Franck Taylor.

We have already noticed the first volume this work. It is to be completed in four volumes, and appears in a very convenient form. though larger type might have been pleasanter. The second volume consists chiefly of his letters, written in an easy, piquant style, and laying open the heart of the man, with all its oddities, its virtues and vices.

Overing; or, The Heir of Wycherly. By Eldred Grayson. New York: Cornish, Sanford, & Co. For sale by Franck Taylor, Washington.

This is the same author who wrote "Stand ish, the Puritan," a story which did not impress us very favorably. This historical romance, as it is styled, is however an improvement on that undertaking; and, we should think from a few passages in the beginning, is a well-told story.

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The high, quaint, old pews impressed me most. I at once imagined little David Copperfield sitting in one of them, with his mother and Peggotty. By the way, you can have no idea of the luxury of reading Dickens in England. mance, as it is styled, is however an improve-

[COPYRIGHT SECURED.] GREENWOOD LEAVES FROM OVER THE SEA.

EDGBASTON, BIRMINGHAM,

My DEAR MRS. BAILEY: I left Liverpool on My Dear Mrs. Balley: I left Liverpool on an afternoon of unusual brightness, but plunged immediately into a young night, in the shape of the longest tunnel I ever passed through. They tell me it is scarcely noticeable, compared with one between this place and London; but it will do to begin with. The English first-class railway carriages are more luxurious than ours. Substantially made, softly cushioned and curtained, nothing can surpass them for comfort; then they have a John ly cushioned and curtained, nothing can sur-pass them for comfort; then they have a John Bull exclusiveness about them, each carriage being calculated for six passengers, and no more. So rapid is the rate at which they run, and so wonderfully smooth the rail below, such a total absence is there of noise and dust, that it is even difficult to believe we are going at all.

liberal spirit, commence a monthly or quar-terly, with a definite aim, and one held to be important by a large class of readers, and if dren's playgrounds, diminutive hedges, tiny trellices, and gravel walks scarcely a foot wide.

Mr. Sturge met me at the station. I knew him at once, from the portraits we have in

him at once, from the portraits we have in America, though they give the idea of a somewhat stouter person than he is, I think. Birmingham, constantly canopied by a dense cloud of coal smoke, reminds me somewhat of Pittsburgh, as did Liverpool, by the way.

I have as yet seen nothing of the town, but am going soon to visit several of the manufactories. Edgbaston, which is quite out of the smoke and noise of the town, is a lovely place. It rained hard, and the twilight was deepening, when I arrived: but I was received into ing, when I arrived; but I was received into the warmth and light of a pleasant little drawing-room, opening into a conservatory of beau-tiful bright flowers. I was met with sweet ing-room, opening into a conservatory of beautiful bright flowers. I was met with sweet words and sweeter smiles of welcome, by the lovely young wife of Joseph Sturge, and by his fair children—quaint, Quaker specimens of child-beauty, which is found in its rosy perfection in merrie England. I felt thoroughly at home and at rest, from the first; and then, that very night, after I had retired to my room, there was sent to me, all unexpectedly, a package of letters from America! It were impossible for you to conceive, as for me to describe, my emotion on beholding these. I actually grew faint with excess of joy; and after having come safely over the salt seas, there was danger of their being rendered illegible by a briny greeting on shore. And yet, I had been parted from the writers but seventeen days, Ah! my friend, the poet is entirely correct—
"Time is not of years."

Mr. Sturge's place is retired, modest, and unpretending in every way, but most lovely. The smooth, closely-cut lawns are a perpetual pleasure to my eye; next come the hedges, the ivys, the honeysuckles, the hollys, and glossy-leaved laurels. Roses and rhodudendrons are now in full bloom; peonies are a-flame; the

which was by several sizes the greater ass of the two.

Cattle, pigs, and poultry, are, as far as I have seen, finer here than with us; because, I suppose, so much more carefully kept. There is, of late, a rage for rare poultry here, as in the United States. Cochin China fowls, in especial, sell at a preposterously high price. This "hen-fever" seems to have spread over the world—a plot well hatched, on which the successful speculators may plume themselves—but a fowl conspiracy at the best.

The English home-style of living does not differ widely from our own, except that it is often simpler, and always quieter. I notice that the table at meals is usually decked with flowers—a beautiful custom we should do well to adopt.

to adopt.

A few expressions have struck me, as new and peculiar; such as "car," for cab, "carriage" for car, "box" for trunk, and "starved" for chilled. The manner of an English gentleman to-

ward the American visiter is most polite and considerate, but sometimes a little too marked. considerate, but sometimes a little too marked. At a dinner-party, the other day, during a little playful discussion of Yankee character, a bland and benevolent-looking old gentleman at my side, informed me that he had come to the conclusion that the wooden-nutmeg story was neither more nor less than a mischievous satire. "For," said he, "there would be such an amount of minute carving required to make a successful imitation of the nutmeg, that the deception would hardly pay the workman. For myself, I do not believe the cheat was ever practiced." I thanked him in the name of my country for the justice done her, and assured country for the justice done her, and assured him that the story of the Yankee having whittled a large lot of unsaleable shee-pegs into melon-seeds, and sold them to the Canadians, was also a base fabrication of our enemies.

We have curious weather—chill, driving showers, alternating with bursts of warm, efful-

together. According to a popular tradition of our country, a certain gentleman in black is at this season administering marital discipline with unusual frequency and severity.

Evening.—We have just returned from a pleasant drive into the country, some four or five miles, to see the old Handsworth Church, and Chantry's monument to James Watt. This is within the church, but curtained off by itself; is a plain large, white marble redectal supports is a plain, large, white marble pedestal, sup-porting a sitting, life-size figure of the great in-ventor. It is a most beautiful work of art, and There was a bust by Flaxman also in this church, and one by Chantry.

The church itself is a curiosity, for its great

age. It contains some effigies in stone, said to be more than five hundred years old. There is a knight in complete armor, with a very dan-dified waist and enormous thighs, and a slim lady, with a very tight-fitting shroud, crowded against the wall behind him. The good dame's frill has suffered some dilapidation, and the

hour at a fine cemetery, from some heights of which I caught my first real view of the town in all its industrial grandeur and smoky magnificence. Within these grounds we encountered the Beadle, in all the pomp of his parish livery. He was a stout man, of course, dignified to solemnity, and in person greatly like our friend General Houston. Seeing him unoccupied, I ventured to make some conversa-tion with him, and must acknowledge that he met my advances in a most gracious and un-Bumble-like manner. I asked him if they buried the common people one upon another: "Yes mem," he replied, "but it often 'appens quite agreeably, that members of the same family go into the same grave. Whenever we can,

we lay them together, or not many bodies apart—we try to make them comfortable, mem."

I forgot to tell you that I saw a cricket-match last night. This fine old English game has been rendered classic by the poetic description and ever-fresh enthusiasm of dear Miss

afternoon, was a new monastery, occupied solely by renegade clergymen from the church of England—a haunt of priestly owls, scared by the light and freedom of the time back into he cloistered gloom of the dark ages. What

a precious set of cowled conservatives.

To-morrow I visit Warwick Castle, Kenilworth, and it may be, Stratford upon Avon Splendid stuff for dreams, such a prospect. So Splendid stun for Grace Greenwood.

Grace Greenwood.

CLEVELAND, July 1, 1852. Mr. Editor: For one, I must say that I cannot fully understand the last article from "P.," your Cincinnati correspondent. I had hoped, from the fact of his being a correspondent of the National Era, and making high pretensions to a definite Anti-Slavery charac-ter, that he had no sympathy with the two great political parties of our country—the Whig and Democratic; and that he had with-drawn from all active co-operation with them, and felt prepared to condemn them, standing as they do by the terms of their platform in a as they do by the terms of their platform in a position adverse to freedom and the true interests of the country. But, from his own remarks, it seems that I was mistaken. He passes his censure upon the members of that noble Convention, for advocating the propriety af seceding from those political parties, instead af seceding from those political parties, instead of remaining in them for the purpose of purifying or reforming them. I had thought, Mr. Editor, that long before 1852, the true, consistent, devoted friends of freedom had despaired of the work of purification, and had considered it expedient to form a new party, called once the "Liberty Party"—then afterwards, "the Free Soil Party" of the land. I would like to know whether your correspond-ent "P." is in connection with those old par-ties, which, with the fear of God before my

A glance at the third volume confirms our plains, formerly expressed, of this work, tendence of the process of the process of the process of the process of plays and after having come salely are the process of plays and after having come salely are the process of plays and after having come salely are the process of plays and after having come salely are the process of plays and after having come salely are the process of plays and after having come salely are the process of plays and after having come salely are the process of plays and after having come salely are the process of plays and after having come salely are the process of plays and after having come salely are the process of plays and after having come salely are the process of plays and a final training the senting correct many and a factorized from the writers hat sevented days have a factorized from the writers hat sevented days have a factorized from the writers hat sevented days had been processed of the process of the process of the process of the marrative but we forgive her, for the pure and earlied subject to the process of the near process of the process of plays and the process of the

For the National Era.

NATIONAL CONVENTION AT PITTSBURG. Dr. BAILEY: I feel constrained, as a mem

ber of the National Committee, respectfully to protest against the CALL published in your paper of June 24th, signed "SAMUEL LEWIS, Chairman, By order of the General Free Soil Chairman, by order of the Committee," because—

1. The Committee was not appointed to invite a meeting of the "Free Democracy" or "Free-Soilers," as such, but the "Friends of

Preconding of the principles declared at Buffalo, at the memorable Convention of August, 1848," are invited to attend.

3. The time and place agreed upon by the committee have been changed, not by them, but at the instance of "the friends of the Convention at Washington."

4. The Call, as published, has not been agreed upon by the Committee.

And 5. It purports to be signed by order of the "General Free Soil Committee," when there is no such committee.

The Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, held September 24th, 1851, was called a Convention of the Friends of Freedom, as may be

TION OF THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM, as may be seen by turning to the *Era* of October 2d and 9th. It was composed of Anti-Slavery men of 9th. It was composed of Anti-Slavery men of various descriptions, including those who approved and those who disapproved the platform laid down by the Buffalo Convention. The National Committee then appointed, on my motion, to notify a Convention to nominate candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, were simply authorized "to fix upon the time and place of said Convention." If they chose to do more, and designate the description of persons invited to attend, they could not, with propriety, include anything not in accordance with the views held by the Convention from which they received their ap-

bintment.
In November, Mr. Lewis addressed a circular to the members of the Committee, request-ing them to name the time and place for the Convention to meet, and authorize him to sign their names to the Call, with a form of that call if they pleased. Accordingly, on the 6th of December, I sent him the form of a call, which was afterwards, at his suggestion, slightly altered, and reads as follows:

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

"The undersigned, a committee appointed at the National Convention, held at Cleveland, Ohio, September 24th, 1851, to name the time and place for holding a National Convention for nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States, for the term commencing March 4th, 1853, hereby notify the Friends of Freedom 1853, hereby notify the FRIENDS OF FREEDOM to meet at Harrisburg, (or Pittsburg, or Buffalo,) in the State of Pennsylvania, on Wednesday, the —— day of —— next, at 12 o'clock, noon, then and there to consider and act upon the important business above mentioned. This CALL is addressed to all electors who are operated to accompany of American and extension of American posed to the existence and extension of American Slavery, to the Fugitive Slave Act, and who are in favor of divorcing the General Government from all participation in upholding human bondage, and abolishing it wherever Congress has jurisdiction over the same."

Mr. Lewis, in his reply, February 11th, approved the form sent to him, and wrote, "I want to make our action conduce to the compination of all friends of truth and freedom. Such was my desire. Several letters passed betweed Mr. Lewis and myself and another betweed Mr. Lewis and myself and another member of the Committee, to whom Mr. Lewis had referred me, up to June 8th, Mr. Lewis having written, "Now, our course is to induce, as far as possible, every Anti-Slavery man to go up to our Convention;" and he informed me that Judge Allen, to whom he had sent the views of other members of the Committee, would, with the aid of such members of the Committee as he could consult. "prepage a suitable call as he could consult, "prepare a suitable call, sign his name to it, and publish it." He added, "I wrote to Judge Allen last week, that we must after all rely upon the self-sacrificing zeal of real Anti-Slavery men; and while it would be right to secure aid from others, if possible, we must not do anything to repel that class."

On the 12th of June, I wrote to Judge Allen,

name affixed to any call less open and Anti-Slavery than the form sent to Mr. Lewis. He replied on the 14th, that "the call agreed upon here, (Washington,) and to which Mr. Lewis here, (Washington,) and to which Mr. Lewis has given his assent, and authorized the use of his name, is addressed to the 'Friends of the principles declared at Buffalo, at the Convention of August, 1848.'" On the 17th I replied, endeavoring to show that the Cleveland Convention was not composed of members of the Buffalo Convention, or "Free-Soilers," exclusive-

ent circumstances, simply name the time and place for the Convention to meet. No reply has been made to the above com-No reply has been made to the above communication, and I have read with surprise and profound regret the call published in the Era, dated the 19th—a call that not only expresses unqualified approbation of the Buffalo Convention, but invites to the Pittsburg Convention only those who approve it, making the members of the Cleveland Convention, and even members of the National Committee appointed by it, who have dissented from the Ruffalo by it, who have dissented from the Buffalo Platform, parties to it! Under these extraorlinary circumstances, I must, for the sake of consistency and principle, respectfully decline having any part in the doings of the gentlemen at Washington, in the premises, or attending their Convention.

Lewis Tappan.

By request, we publish the following lette of Judge Allen, referred to in the foregoing protest.—Ed. Era.

Washington, June 14, 1852. My DEAR SIR: I hasten to reply to yours of the 12th inst., regretting that we cannot have the pleasure of your company at Washington, Our friends here have had two meetings for consultation in regard to the call of a National Convention. They represent constituencies in different parts of the country, and were united in the opinion that the call for a Convention should be made after the Conventions of tion should be made after the Conventions of the other parties. A large majority of gentle-men in different States, who addressed Mr. Lewis, (Chairman,) by letter, concur in that opinion. I regret that the views of Anti-Sla-very gentlemen in New York do not coincide with those elsewhere axpressed. I was not present at either meeting in this city, but feel bound by the unanimous decision of our friends. My judgment also, I ought to add, approves of it.

of it.

The "Call" agreed upon here, and to which Mr. Lewis has given his assent, and authorized the use of his name, is addressed to the "Friends of the principles declared at Buffalo at the Convention of August, 1848." If you will turn to the resolves there adopted, I think you will find that they contemplate all such action against slavery as can be instituted by a political party, within the limits of the present Constitution. Carry out the principles of the Buffalo platform—make slavery sectional, and freedom national;" "limit, localize, and discourage slavery;" "apply the Ordinance of '87 to all the Territories of the United States;" relieve the Government from the responsibility of the existence or continuance of slavery, wherever it has constitutional authority to legislate on the subject;" "demand that there be no more slave States, and no slave Territory;" declare "that there must be no more compromises with slavery, and if made they must be repeated"—carry out these and all the principles of 1848, make them the sentiment of the nation, and consequently the rule of action of its Government, and the work of a political Anti-Slavery party, as distinguished from the whole people, will be accomplished, and its mission ended. At any rate, the dissemination of these principles by political party organization, cooperating with individual and associated efforts of a moral character, to turn the tide of public sentiment and the energies of the nation's conscience against the crime of slaveholding, would seem to be a work stupendous enough for the present hour. I hope there will be no division among those who are disposed The "Call" agreed upon here, and to which

to co-operate politically for practicable constitutional opposition to slavery. With great respect, yours, truly,

Lewis Tappan, Esq., New York.

For the National Era. NATIONAL CONVENTION

Mr. EDITOR: Permit me, through the medi-Mr. Editor: Permit me, through the medium of the Era, to offer a few remarks to those interested, upon the call for a National Convention to be held in the city of Pittsburgh in August next, signed on behalf of the (so called National Free Soil Committee, by Samuel National Free Soil Committee, by Samuel list as we are now continually receiving. With-

National Free Soil Committee, by Samuel Lewis, Chairman.

This Committee have assumed important powers in this call, which were not intrusted to them by the Convention, whose agents they are, inasmuch as they undertake to merge a Convention of the "Friends of Freedom" into a "Free Democratic" and "Free Soil" Convention; and what is of more importance and more objectionable, they thus virtually assume to commit in advance the approaching National Convention to the principles of the "Free Democracy," and to the platform of the Free-Soilers adopted at Buffalo in 1848.

My present purpose is to establish the posi-

Soilers adopted at Buffalo in 1848.

My present purpose is to establish the position, that this attempt to change the name of the Convention, and to establish for it a Free Soil creed, is unauthorized and unwarranted by the body which appointed them.

About twelve months ago, a Convention of Anti-Slavery men assembled at Ravenna, in Ohio, in obedience to a call addressed to "the Friends of Freedom." It was a spirited and intelligent meeting, composed of some of the

Friends of Freedom." It was a spirited and intelligent meeting, composed of some of the best men on the Reserve. Their object was to begin a movement by which the disorganized and scattered fragments of the opponents of human slavery in the United States, of every name, should again be united, and be enabled to exert a more efficient influence in arresting the baleful influence of the Slave Power. The call was to the "Friends of Freedom," that all the different species of Anti-Slavery voters—Free Democrats, Free-Soilers, Liberty League and Liberty Party men—might meet on comand Liberty Party men—might meet on com mon ground, lay aside their old feuds and pre judices, and again form one united and harmo nious phalans, to do battle with oppression.

This Convention decided to call a National Convention of the "Friends of Freedom," at the city of Cleveland, last Fall. The call was issued to "Friends of Freedom," and a large, talented, and zealous Convention assembled, composed of delegates and representatives from nine States. Please notice, sir, that this Con-vention was of "Friends of Freedom." Free Soil and Free Democracy, as such, were not known or acknowledged by that body. By no single act or resolution of that Convention were either of those parties approved or recognised either by name or creed.

Although this Convention was called partly

for the purpose, and intended to make a nomina-tion for President and Vice President, yet, after discussing the subject, they concluded to call another Convention in the ensuing Spring or Summer for that purpose, when it was hoped a

Summer for that purpose, when it was hoped a much larger representation of States would assemble, and the nomination be thus more authoritative and satisfactory.

Now, sir, this Convention—a Convention of the "Friends of Freedom," thus originated and constituted — appointed the Committee whose call is now in your columns, and upon which I am now commenting, for the sole purpose of selecting the time and place at which the Convention was to except he which the hed determined the sole of the sol selecting the time and place at which the Convention was to assemble which they had determined to call. I affirm, sir, without fear of contradiction, that the resolution constituting that Committee, and defining its duties, contains no other trust than the fixing the time and place for the meeting of the coming Conven

By the partiality of the Cleveland Convention, I was elected their presiding officer—and hence my attention was specially devoted to the business there transacted, and I know whereof I affirm. The resolution itself is to be found in your power of that date.

found in your paper of that date.

This is a simple history of the paternity of the Convention to be held in Pittsburgh, and of the duties assigned to one of their Committees by the Meeting at Cleveland. Judge, then, On the 12th of June, I wrote to Judge Allen, expressing my dissent from those members of the Committee who were desirous of incorporating into call the approbation of the Buffalo Platform, and my objections to having my of the Buffalo Convention of 1848," and declar ng that they are to constitute that body.

I wondered by what species of legerdemain 'Friends of Freedom' could be converted into 'Free Democrats," and one of their agents into an instrument for the use of Free Soil Many persons, myself included, who attended the Cleveland Convention, were not either

Free Democrats or Free-Soilers, and under such a call as is now issued would not have at-tended it, much less taken any prominent part Buffalo Convention, or "Free-Soilers," exclusively, but was a gathering of Abolitionists and Free-Soilers; that several, including some of the officers of the Convention, had dissented from the acts of that Convention; that some parts of the Buffalo Platform were contradictory to other parts; and that the principles avowed at Cleveland went beyond those declared at Buffalo. At the same time, I gave him a summary view of my correspondence with Mr. Lewis, and stated that we ought not to allude to the Buffalo Platform, but, under present circumstances, simply name the time and proaching National Convention is so materially changed.

I have made this brief exposé with much reluctance; but self-respect, the solicitation of friends who are placed in the same predica-ment by this call, and a duty which I owed to the Convention whose order and character were in part intrusted to my care, seemed to de mand it.

I hope this error of the calling Committee mill not prevent the friends of impartial human freedom, over the whole country, from being represented in the Convention in August next. I hope it will be a great gathering, in the best sense of that term—great in numbers, talents, zeal, firmness, and love and adhesiveness to every great and good principal. I here ness to every great and good principle. I hope the Convention will be harmonious, uniting all the present fragments of the Anti-Slavery body; and that no man will attempt to make it exclusively Free Democratic, or Free Soil, or give it any of the sectarian aspects which mark the many species of Anti-Slavery. Let the Con-vention adopt its own name and creed, and nominate such men as standard-bearers as we

Respectfully, yours, F. Julius Le Moyne. Washington, Pa., July 1, 1852.

THE NATIONAL ERA FOR THE CAMPAIGN The Democratic Convention has made it omination. This week the Whig Convention

will announce its ticket. Early in August, it

is stated, the National Free Soil Convention will meet. The National Era will keep its readers advised of the movements of Parties, their Principles, Purposes, and Prospects; and their Posi-tion, especially as relates to the Question of

Persons subscribing for six months from the 1st of July, will receive the paper till the 1st of January, thus securing a full view of the entire ampaign, its results, and its bearings upon the preliminary movements in the next session

of Congress. Twelve copies of the paper will be sent for the six months for \$9—the person making up the club entitling himself to an extra copy; or, For the five months from July 1st to December 1st, covering the campaign and its results welve copies will be sent for \$7.50-the per son making up the club being entitled to an

extra copy.

The record of Mr. Pierce, which we publish this week, will be republished in the early part of next month, for the benefit of those subscribers who may commence on the first of July. It shall be our aim to furnish impartially the

and ganizations, it still expects to obtain a fair hearing from the liberal men who continue to support them, though under protest. June 17, 1852.

THE INDICATIONS.

Those who have been accustomed to speak for Freedom may seem apathetic, but the masses are not so. We judge from the surest in two or three days, large clubs have been sent to us from New York, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Massachusetts, and subscriptions too have been forwarded from the extreme South. The tenor of our correspondence leads us to believe that there is as strong repugnance among the people generally to the demands of Slvaery, as ever; and all they have been waiting for is a word from those to whom they have been accustomed to look for counsel

A correspondent in Ashland, Ohio, writes-"The nomination of Gen. Pierce has been a ore disappointment to the Democracy in this

Another in Troy, Michigan, writes-Another in Troy, Michigan, writes—
"I have always voted the Democratic ticket
except for James K. Polk. In that case, the
Convention which nominated him forgot the
wishes of the People. The South have not
maintained good faith with Gen. Cass, but labored too conspicuously to control the action
of the late Democratic and Whig Conventions,
and each has passed resolves exalting the abhorred Fugitive Slave Law above every other
law. I shall probably vote the State Democratic ticket, and for the nominees of the August Convention."

Another at Sing Sing, New York, sending us club of subscribers, says-The Barnburners have not all stultified them-selves yet. "The Fugitive Slave Law is held in

universal abhorrence among the masses. The Democratic party in this State must be broken own, that it may rise more pure.

"A BARNBURNER OF '48." Let the independent friends of Freedom go o work and organize at once, waiting for no leadership. Here speaks one of the old Liber-

"THROOPSVILLE June 26, 1852. To the Editor of the National Era:

ty men of New York:

"In your last number you ask, 'Where are the thirty thousand Liberty men in the State of New York, who went in with the Radical Democracy to the support of Van Buren? Will they follow John Van Buren and Stanton? In this vicinity we answer, emphatically, no. We follow the lead of no man who goes for the Fugitive Slave Law and for Pierce, the enemy of John P. Hale. We have followed the Democratic lead rather hesitatingly for three years ntil we see in the Baltimore resolutions and nominations that they have returned to the mire, and now we of the old Liberty party must unite with such Anti-Slavery Democrats and Whigs as are sick of their pro-slavery parties, and send delegates to Pittsburgh. Let us organize in every town, county, and Con-gressional district in the State, immediately, nd appoint delegates to the Free Democratic

### CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS. THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS-FIRST SESSION.

SENATE

FRIDAY, JULY 2. The Chair laid before the Senate a report

from the Secretary of State, upon the subject of a graduation scale of diplomatic salaries.

The following bills were taken up and ordered to be engrossed: A bill to reimburse the State of South Carolina for advances made to the United States during the Seminole war. A bill to establish an additional land office in

The Senate did not sit to-day, having adjourned over till Tuesday.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FRIDAY, JULY 2. The House resumed the consideration of the

bill heretofore reported by Mr. Cobb, from the Committee on Public Lands, giving the right of way and a donation of the public lands to Alabama, to aid in the construction of the Missis sippi and Charleston, the Selma and Gunter's Landing, and the Tennessee and Winchester railroads; and on motion of Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, it was laid upon the table-yeas

96. navs 61. 96, nays 61.

A Senate bill granting to Ohio all the unsold and unappropiated public lands within her limits, was likewise laid on the table—yeas

86, nays 42.

A bill to establish three additional land districts in Wisconsin was passed.
Mr. Orr, from the Committee on Public Lands, reported a bill granting the right o way and lands to Indiana, to aid in the construc tion of a railroad from Springfield, Illinois, to

Terre Haute, Indiana.

A motion was made to lay the bill on the table, but this was not agreed to—yeas 71, ays 86.
The morning hour here expired.

The Speaker announced that he had received a letter from the Hon. G. W. Thompson, of Virginia, resigning his seat as a member of the House.

The Pennsylvania contested election case

was taken up, and when Mr. Ashe had closed the debate, the question was stated on agreeing to the following resolutions, viz: "Resolved, That the election at Danville pre-

cinct, county of Montour, eleventh Congressional district of Pennsylvania, was illegally and irregularly conducted, and the seat of the member is vacant; and that the Speaker inform the Governor of that State of the decision of the House, that a new election may be or-

dered.

Mr. Polk, not being able to concur in the report, moved to lay the whole subject upon the table and this was agreed to—yeas 87, nays 74.

The House then went into Committee of

the Whole on the state of the Union, and took up the Deficiency bill. Mr. Wells, of New York, delivered a speech on the subject of non-intervention, when The Committee rose, and the House adjourn

SATURDAY, JULY 3.

SATURDAY, JULY 3.

Several bills, for the donation of public lands to aid in the construction of railroads, were postponed till the 13th.

Mr. Watkins, from the Committee on Public Lands, reported a bill giving the right of way and a donation of public lands to Alabament to sid in the construction of a railroad in

ma, to aid in the construction of a railroad in that State.

Mr. Abercrombie asked that the bill be put upon its passage, and, in the course of the re-marks which he made, pointed out the many advantages which would accrue from the con-struction of the road. He said it was the last connecting link of railroad between New Or-leans and the Northern lakes. When completed, it would cost \$2,500,000, and it was now in process of construction.

Other gentlemen spoke upon the subject,

when Mr. Abercrombie demanded the previous

question.

Mr. Letcher moved that the bill be laid upon the table. The year and nays were ordered; and, pending which, the morning hour expired.

The House resolved itself into a Committee

bers who may commence on the first of July. It shall be our aim to furnish impartially the important facts in relation to all the contending Parties.

Will not our friends who regard the Ero as qualified to spread correct political information and disseminate sound political sentiments, do what they can, by the formation of clubs and otherwise, to secure it still larger access to the public mind? We must rely upon their well-directed efforts. An uncompromising opponent of the Pro-Slavery policy of the old political or-

duty. The political organization with which he had acted for the past two years had declared the final settlement of the questions which had agitated the country for the last fifteen years, in connection with African slavery, to be paramount to all questions of policy which divided the two parties of this country. He concurred most fully in that declaration. It had the approbation of his judgment, and he should adhere to it with fidelity. That organization declared that it would support gentlemen in all parts of this Republic, in the North as well as South, who concurred with it in opinion upon these great and vital ques-tions. After this long agitation of fifteen years, his constituents desired repose, security, and an end to this sectional strife; and they intended to have it, if it could be procured by any action of theirs upon the Presidential elec-tion.

He then proceeded to speak of the unauthor-He then proceeded to speak of the unauthorized and irresponsible manner of nominating Presidential candidates, pursued since 1832, by outside juntas, combined for the benefit of the spoils. He despised all such assemblages. He alluded to the respective platforms of the Democratic and the Whig parties, saying the former did better than their expected. Pierse hed ocratic and the Whig parties, saying the former did better than they expected. Pierce had declared that the principles of the Compromise commanded the approbation of his judgment; but General Scott would not say this, for fear of "disgusting" the public. Mr. Graham and Mr. King cordially approved of it; but General Scott morely accepts the nomination, with the resolutions approved course over the contract. with the resolutions annexed—cum onere—without avowing what shall be the policy of his administration. General Scott said he did not write letters to secure the nomination. No; but because he did not write them, secured it

Mr. Toombs examined General Scott's let-Mr. Toombs examined General Scott's letter accepting the nomination, and said the General, not considering the platform broad enough, had put two more planks in it. He thought it extremely unfortunate that General Scott appealed to a long life as a guarantee of his political principles, and regarded every line in the letters which he has heretofore written as fatal to him. they all speak trumpettongued against trusting him on the question vital to the South.

In conclusion, Mr. Toombs expressed the hope that the Union Whigs everywhere would come up to the defence of their great principles, and elect some one who can be intrusted with them, with a view to the peace and secu-

rity of the Republic.

Mr. Breckinridge opposed the amendment of the Senate to the Deficiency bill, appropriating additional compensation to the Collins line of steamers, and spoke generally against

the present system.

Mr. Howard obtained the floor, when the Committee rose— And the House adjourned until Tuesday.

TUESDAY IN CONGRESS.

The Senate listened to a speech from Mr. Weller, in relation to matters in California. In the House, in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, the Deficiency bill being under consideration, especially the Senate amendment in relation to the Collins line

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bill to establish an additional land office in Michigan. A bill for the relief of Ira Day. A bill for the relief of Z. F. Johnson.

A bill for the relief of the heirs of James C. Watson was taken up and postponed.

After a short Executive session, the Senate adjourned till Tuesday.

Saturday, July 3.

Saturday, July 3.

Saturday, July 3.

The Second did not sit to den begins and the subscriber by their kindness gets his paper for the subscriber by their kindness gets his paper for the subscriber by their kindness gets his paper for the subscriber by the subscriber

# CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM

for \$1.50 or \$1.75, as the case may be.

IN PENNSYLVANIA. A State Convention for Pennsylvania, of all the Friends f Freedom who believe in Political Action, will be held at the Court House in Pittsburgh, on Tuesday, August 10th, 1852, at eleven o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of effecting a State organization, and choosing delegates to the National Convention to be held in that city on the following day. A general attendance from all parts of the State is requested.

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nasquainted with this Journa'. We copy:

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June 24—4t

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## WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Bra.

THE TOMB OF WASHINGTON.\* BY I. H. JULIAN.

How sleep the brave, who sink to rest With all their country's wishes blest! Thus sings a heaven-inspired bard, Of patriot valor's great reward. Yet should a nation's love not bloom Around the sleeping patriot's tomb, A visible symbol to reveal, The reverence she claims to feel?

The sacred Tomb of WASHINGTON-The roof which housed his honored head And echoed to the hero's tread-The scenes his care and presence graced. Profaned by coarse barbaric taste; While blank Oblivion spreads her pall

O Father of our patriot band A recreant people shouts thy praise, Yet leaves thy ashes in disgrace— Invokes thy name and memory To screen its very infamy— Bows adoration weak and vain— While thus those hallowed scenes remain

"How sleeps the brave"-ay, glorious sleeps Vet o'er his rest his Country keeps No watch-the unfrequented spot-Fair Freedom's shrine—by her forgot .
O vile reproach! O burning shame! Columbia, rise! redeem thy fame, And take thy patriot hero's dust

\*On the 22d of May last, the N. S. Presbyterian General Assembly made a visit to the grave of the "Father of his Country." \* \* \* As I wandored over the fine grounds, and looked at such objects of interest as are there found to remind the visiter of WASHINGTON, I could hear the remark made frequently, "Why cannot Congress got one inch beyond the subject of bread and butter and a successor to the White House, to gratify the patriotism of this land, by purchasing this beautiful spot, and preserving its relies, as nearly as may be, for other ages."

Correspondence of N. Y. Tribune.

KOSSUTH, at the tomb of WASHINGTON, the month previous is reported as having expressed his regret

previous, is reported as having expressed his regret that Mount Vernon was not the property of the Na-tion, and as having remarked that "the great deeds and good example of the illustrious dead should be commemorated in proper respect and attention to the places where their remains repose."

BALTIMORE PLATFORMS-SLAVERY QUESTION SPEECH OF HON. J. R. GIDDINGS, OF OHIO. In the House of Representatives, June 23, 1852.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union on the Deficiency Bill-Mr. GIDDINGS said :

Mr. GIDDINGS said:
Mr. Chairman: The two great political parties of the nation have held their Conventions. From all parts of these United States delegates have assembled, deliberated upon their platform of principles, avowed their doctrines, nominated their candidates for Presied upon the Presidential campaign. Preparatory to this state of things, many speeches were made here, to which the Free Democrats, the advocates of liberty, listened with commends ble attention. And now, Mr. Chairman, I rise to occupy a brief hour in vindicating the posi-tion of the party to which I am attached. Often, during the last six months, the question has been propounded to me, whether we should vote for the candidates of the Whig or the Democratic party? This question, so far as I am concerned, will probably be answered satisfactorily before I take my seat. I will, however, add, in this connection, that the friends of freedom labor to sustain measures, they care little for men. They adhere tenaciously principle, but have no attachment to parties.

It is not my purpose to examine very critically the principles of those parties. It may nt for me to remark that they agree as to the policy which ought to control our their doctrines. Their confession of political faith having been two weeks before the public, assembling of the Whig Convention, that body took issue upon none of the doctrines avowed nor upon the policy maintained by the Demo-

I notice in some papers much is said in relation to "internal improvements." The Democrats say "the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government power to com mence and carry on a system of internal im-provements." Do the Whigs take issue on this general and unmeaning assertion? Not at all. They answer, "the Constitution vests in Congress power to open and improve harbors, re-move obstructions in navigable rivers, &c., said improvements being in every instance national and general in their character." Now, sir, no Democrat ever did or ever will deny this doctrine. So, too, the Democrats make assertion about "fostering one branch of industry to the detriment of another;" and the Whigs refuse the issue thus tendered, but, in answer, assert doctrines which no Democrat denies. Democrats attempt to galvanize into existence the obsolete idea of a National Bank, to which the Whigs make no reply, admitting by their silence the Democratic faith. Neither advances a principle which is denied by the other; they stand on the record in perfect harmony. And no other contest exists than a strife for office, for place and power; for the spoils, the loaves

This is the first time, for many years, that these parties have each put forth an avowal of their doctrines. In the change of times, and the ordinary course of events, they now find themselves in perfect harmony with each other. The day of their contention and disagreement has passed away. The issues which once really existed between them have become obsolete, or have been given up. Their usefulness is at an end, and their history will soon be written The increase of intelligence, the improvements of the age, demand new organizations and new parties. For years, the old parties have new parties. For years, the old parties have intermingled constantly, and no influence has been able to keep them separate. Here, and throughout the country, some Whigs act with the Democratic party, and some Democrats act with the Whig party. For the last four years there has been no matter of legislation before this body, on which the members have arrayed themselves according to their party character On every question, a portion of Whigs have acted with the Democrats, and a portion of Democrats have acted with the Whigs. Indeed, sir, those who have watched the proceeding here for the past few years, could not fail to see that slavery constitutes the only question of interest before us.

Notwithstanding the Whigs and Democrat

are acting in perfect harmony with each other, they have united in tendering to the friends of liberty important issues. One of those issues is so extraordinary, that it demands my first attention. The proposistion is to stifle all further examination of chattel slavery, and is expressed by the Democrats in the following lan-

guage:

"Resolved, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

The Whigs resolved-

"That \* \* \* we will discountenance all ef

We, sir, the Free Democracy, will agitate the subject of slavery and its correlative freedom. Here, sir, is an issue formed between us. I, sir, Here, sir, is an issue formed between us. I, sir, am about to agitate this question. I intend to speak plainly of slavery, of its most revolting features. I will endeavor to use no offensive language, but I will talk of the practice followed by men in this District, of purchasing slave women, and then selling their own children into bondage. Now, when I do this, the Democrats are bound to resist, and the Whigs to discountenance, my efforts. In order that we may start with a perfect understanding of this conflict, I desire to understand the manner in which the Democrats will manifest their resistance? I am now agitating this subject, and what will you do about it?

Now, I hope gentlemen will not feel any particular delicacy in showing their resistance. Don't be alarmed, gentlemen; just stand up here and now before the country; show your resistance. Be not afraid, gentlemen—I am less than the stripling of Israel, who went forth

dom of speech. And now, who speaks for the carrying out of this resolution?

Mr. Chairman, we may "call spirits from the vasty deep," but they will not come.

I repeat to the Democrats: I want to know what you are going to do? You are bound to

Mr. DURKEE, (in his seat.) Their tongues Mr. Gippings. You are a friend of liberty and not authorized to speak for them. [Laugh-

ter.] I want some one to answer who is authorized to speak for their party. I ask respectfully of my colleague from the Circleville district, what do you mean to do? How will you resist me?
Mr. Ords. I am well aware there is no time to reply to an interrogatory while the gen-tleman is making a speech. If he asks me how, as an Ohio Democrat, I will resist the agitation of the slavery question here and else-where, I will answer him in a minute. I shall resist it here by voting against the suspension of the rules for the introduction of the apple of discord into this House. I shall resist it at

compromises of the Constitution, and "rather bear the ills we have, than fly to others we know not of."
Mr. Giddings. Mr. Chairman, my colleague has given an answer entirely satisfactory. He will vote against any suspension of the rules for introducing the apple of discord. He is perfectly safe. No motion was ever made to suspend the rules for that purpose, or ever will be. But I understand, that when in Committee of the Whole, as we are now, and a member agitates the slave question, he will sit quietly by and say nothing. His resistance will be like that of my Whig friends to slaveholding dictation; he will sit still and bear it, silently acquiesce, as they now do. That is the very league has given an answer entirely satisfactoacquiesce, as they now do. That is the very resistance which I approve in this case. It is safe—it will injure no one. But at home, he goes for the Compromise, for agitation. He him-self is to become an agitator. Well, sir, I wish

home by telling my people to stand by the compromises of the Constitution, and "rather

the Democratic party joy, in having such agithe Democratic party joy, in having such agitators among them.

The Whigs, in their Convention, also resolved that they "will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, and however the attempt may be made." The language of this resolution differs from that of the Democracy, but its spirit and object are the same. They intend to suppress the freedom of speech here and among the people. On this point the two great parties of the nation have cordially united. A coalition for a more odious purpose could not have been a more odious purpose could not have been formed. Duty to myself, to this body, and the country, demands an exposure of this conspira-cy against the Constitution, against the rights

of members here, against the people.

Mr. Chairman, is it contemplated to silence the popular voice in this Hall? If that be not the case, these resolutions mean nothing. They are mere "brutum fulmen," made for show, to frighten men of weak nerves. They may do very well among doughfaces; but when those parties attempt to frighten Free-Soilers, they should better understand their opponents.

The Whigs and Democrats united have suffi

mient numbers to vote us down, to silence us but they will not do it. They dare not do it.
The Constitution has provided "that Congress shall pass no law abridging the freedom of peech." That Constitution we have sworn to upport, and by the blood of our ancestors we Whigs and Democrats, may combine to tram-ple that sacred instrument under their feet, by suppressing the freedom of speech; but, sir, they have not the moral power to effect that

Agitation or discussion is not only to be put down here, but among the people; they are to have no more Anti-Slavery meetings; no more Free-Soil Conventions; no more sermons in free-Soil Conventions; no more sermons in favor of God's law; no more prayers to Heaven for the oppressed of our land; the Declaration of Independence is to be burned; our printing establishments broken up, and our social circles are to speak no more of the rights of all men to enjoy life and liberty. A new political police is to be established, and the American people placed under slaveholding surveillance. Our literary writers are to be driven into exile. But I am paying undeserved attention to these base, these puerile attempts to stifle discussion on the subject of humanity. I hold these resthem under my feet. I spit upon them. Their authors, those who adopted them, had better have been attending some Sabbath school, gaining intelligence, and qualifying themselve or useful employment.

And here I will leave this ridiculous attempt

ape the despotisms of Europe, by stifling iscussion upon the absorbing question of lib-

erty.

I will now proceed to examine the reasons why these resolutions were adopted.

Why should these parties in their National Conventions take Congress, the Constitution, and people, under their control, and command universal silence upon certain measures? Evi-dently because investigation and discussion dentity because investigation and discussion would endanger the future success of their organizations. The very proposition shows that they have no confidence in the people. The man or party who strives to silence discussion, to shut out truth, admits that he is in error. No man, or party, who feels that he is right, hesitates to let the whole truth be known. He feels that he will be vindicated by the develop ment of truth, and his honor will be sustained But why should the Whigs and Democrats

regard to the Compromise measures? Wh lishing Territorial Government in Utah, admit ting slavery and the slave trade to be establish ed there, on soil consecrated to freedom by Mexican laws. I well know the people were told that slavery could not go there, as it was excluded by the laws of God. Well, sir, official documents now show that assertion to have been a gigantic falsehood. The census returns show that slavery exists there; that man is there held in bondage, lashed into subjection by his fellow-man; women are sold like swine in the market, and children made subjects of barter. fellow-man; women are sold like swine in the market, and children made subjects of barter. Now, sir, we Free Democrats insist that slavery and the slave trade should be excluded from that Territory. The motto of our party is, "No slave territory." We do not believe it right thus to deal in God's image. But this law which permits these dutrages, the Whigs and Democrate say, is a final settlement; that these practices may continue in all coming time. But they dare not go before the people admitting this truth; nor dare they deny these facts. To avoid this unpleasant question, they resolve to resist every attempt to speak or write upon it. Their only way of escaping from popular odium is to keep truth from the people. Now, sir, does any Democrat or any Whig believe that Free-Soilers will vote for any candidate pledged to sustain those revolting practices? If any one who ever held a place in the Free Democracy shall cast such a vote, it will be some other man than myself.

Again, Mr. Chairman, the last Congress provided, by the law afor said, that one or more States may be admitted from said Territory, with or without slavery. They were unwilling that the members of the next or any future Congress should judge for themselves, whenever Utah shall ask admission into the Union; and they have made this foolish attempt to dictate the action of this body in future ages. Well, the provision is, that an indefinite number of slave States may be admitted. Of course, their political power, under the Constitution, will be in proportion to their slaves. The man

ber of slave States may be admitted. Of course, their political power, under the Constitution, will be in proportion to their slaves. The man in Utah, who Euys a slave woman, and raises four bastard children, and holds them as property, adds as much to the political power of that State as four of those educated and intelligent Democrats who sit before me add to the political influence of a free State. Now, sir, we, the Free Democracy, are unqualifiedly opposed to this insult to Northern dignity. We do not believe that the man who thus sets at defiance God's law, and tramples upon decency, is any better than an educated, intelliat defiance God's law, and tramples upon decency, is any better than an educated, intelligent Northern freeman. But, sir, Whigs and Democrats say that this disgraceful inequality shall be allowed to the people of Utah, and maintained. They know that public indignation would be kindled against every man who would thus degrade the people of the North. Our freemen would hurl from place and power such men, if the facts were known to them. They therefore seek to smother the truth; to keep the people in ignorance; and resolve to resist agitation, to discountenance discussion. They pledge their candidates to carry out this disgraceful combination against liberty and the rights and honor of the free States, and then

The same law, or a law with similar provisions, was enacted in relation to New Mexico. The people of that Territory may, if they please, enter into this speculation in human flesh. They may curse that land with human bondage. Whigs and Democrats say that this law shall be a final settlement of that subject; that slavery and the slave trade shall not be excluded; and the Democrats are to resist, and the Whirs are to discountenance all discussion

One or more slave States are to be admitted One or more slave States are to be admitted from New Mexico, upon the same terms of degrading inequality to the free States as those from Utah, and Northern men are to submit without discussion. Agitation would, in the words of the Whig resolution, endanger the peace of the Whig party. They say they therefore deprecate agitation. Well, sir, the proper meaning of the verb "to deprecate" is, to "pray against;" and the Whigs will therefore pray against agitation. as it will endanger "pray against;" and the Whigs will therefore pray against agitation, as it will endanger their peace. Such prayers would simply be "an abomination;" they would do no other hurt. And as for the peace of the Whig party, I should far rather see it endangered than to see one child sold from its parents, or one woman flogged, or one man degraded.

The motto of Free-Soilers is, "No MORE SLAVE STATES." This is our unyielding, determined position. We wage an exterminating warfare against every man and every party who would extend the curse of human servitude, or increase the slave power in any degree.

tude, or increase the slave power in any degree

tude, or increase the slave power in any degree. The Democratic party and the Whig party unite in the extension of slavery and of the slave power, and then ask the friends of liberty to vote with them! I shall not do it.

Another measure of the last Congress was a law entitled "An act to abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia." A flagrant false-hood was sent to the people in this title; for the law itself does not profess to abolish the slave trade in this District, and only excludes from this market the slave-breeders of Mary. from this market the slave-breeders of Mary-land and Virginia, leaving the sale of men, wo-men, and children, to continue here. And this ommerce in the image of God is to go on and commerce in the image of God is to go on and continue forever. The Whigs say it shall not be disturbed, and the Democrats say they too will protect it. These parties have taken posi-tion between us and the slave-dealers, and say we shall not discuss the morality of their voca we shall not discuss the moranty of their vocation; indeed, they assert that we shall not agitate the cause of freedom.

You, sir, lately saw an advertisement in the leading Whig paper of this District, in these

words; "For sale, a handsome and accomplished lady's maid, aged just sixteen years." Except in this city and New Zealand, I do not think any Government within the bounds of civiliza-tion would have permitted such an outrage upon decency. I speak of New Zealand with-out intending any disrespect to the people of that island by comparing their habits with ours. They buy men and women for food only. The object is far more honorable and Christian-like than that for which the young women of this city are advertised and sold.

Mr. Chairman, General Scott and General Pierce are both pledged to maintain this traffic in the bodies of women, and the advocates of liberty are asked to aid in electing them. Sir. let those parties revel in such moral and politi-cal wickedness; let them pledge themselves and their candidates to perpetrate crimes revolting to humanity; but I beseech them not to insult honest men, philanthropists, and Christians, by asking them to participate in such transcedent iniquity.

Another of the Compromise measures is the Fugitive Slave Law. Of the character of this

law I have spoken on former occasions. Of the unconstitutionality, I think no unprejudiced mind can doubt, who listened to the speech of the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. Rantoul.] Of the crimes committed under this law; of the enormities of sending free men into slavery under color of this law; of the into slavery, under color of this law; of the barbarous and savage character of the agents selected by this Administration to carry it out, I have no time to speak. I noticed in the address of a clergyman, lately delivered before the Home Missionary Society, a statement that the reverend speaker was in the central parts of Russia during last summer; that an intelligent nobleman taunted him with the character of this Fugitive Law, saying: "You can find nothing in the legal code of Russia, nor in the decrees of her Emperors, equal to that barbarous law." No, sir; I do not believe that any despot of Russia, or of Austria, was ever guilty of put-ting forth so barbarous a law; yet the Democratic party and the Whig party tell us that this law shall remain as a final settlement of this subject. The Whig party, it is true, reserve to themselves the right of making it more barbarous. But it is to remain a law and con-tinue in force while time shall last. Yes, when the "archangel shall descend from heaven with a rainbow upon his head, and placing one foot upon the earth and the other upon the sea, shall swear by Him who liveth forever and ever, that TIME SHALL BE NO LONGER," the dread summons shall find the people of Phila-delphia, New York, and Boston, upon the "qui vive," hunting for slave mothers, who have fied from all else they hold dear in life, in order to enjoy liberty. There, Whigs and Democrats will be found supporting this law; and when they shall close their eyes upon terrestrial objects, they will be listening to the baying of bloodhounds, the clanking of chains, and shrieks of slaves, the roar of muskets, the dynamics are so that the contract of ing groans of slave-catchers, and their wounded associates, the bloodhounds; the last deaththis earth, and mingle with the archangel' this earth, and mingle with the archangers voice, as he shall summon us all to the bar of final retribution. I would speak of the future with solemnity, but if men are to carry with them into the coming world their leading traits of character, as some hold, it would seem that their residence in the spirit land will be made vocal with the sighs, and groans, and shrieks

of associated beings.

But both parties and their candidates are pledged to maintain this infamous law. And on his soul," when a darker night shall close they will "resist" and "discountenance" all around him. they will "resist" and "discountenance" all agitation in regard to it, "in Congress or out of it." The policy of silencing discussion upon it must be apparent to every man. The slave-holders demanded the passage of this law. Northern doughfaces submitted; some voted for it; others fled the Hall. They then knew it would be death to the measure, and political obliteration to themselves, to discuss it; and therefore voted against its discussion, against all agitation, and a minority of this body actually wassed it under the previous question; and now passed it under the previous question; and now Whigs and Democrats say it never shall be discussed. That, when our people of the North see a fellow-being seized, chained, dragged into slavery, and sold and flogged, they shall say nothing about it, here or elsewhere. That they shall look upon the murdered corpse of fugi-tives shot down by the agents of Government, and may moan over their barbarity, but they must not discuss, they must not agitate the re-peal of this law. Well, sir, I assure them the people will discuss these things; they will hurl from power and from place the men who thus

from power and from place the men who thus contemn the popular feeling.

But it is said, through the Whig press, that we cannot repeal this law. I saw this morning an article, in some respects an able article, denouncing this law, in a Whig paper, professedly Anti-Slavery. The editor, however, admitted that the law would not be repealed, perhaps, for twenty years. Sir. the admission shows the for twenty years. Sir, the admission shows the author to be unconscious of the people's power. It is this miserable, cowardly submission to the slave interest, which has degraded Northern men. Let the people send to this body forty members, whose hearts are devoted to forty members, whose hearts are devoted to freedom, who have confidence in the power of truth, and this law will be repealed in six weeks. It will be swept from our statute book, and curses deep and loud will rest upon its

athors.

The editor to whom I alluded, proposes that The editor to whom I alluded, proposes that we shall contribute from the National funds to pay for fugitives. I could have forgiven the editor for almost any other political offence. What, sir! are the descendants of the Pilgrims, of those who bled at Bunker's Hill, and on every battle field of the Revolution, rather than pay a paltry tax on tea and on stamped paper, are we supinely to become tributary to Southern task-masters? When the barbarians of Algiers seized and englaved our scaple research. task-masters? When the barbarians of Algiers seized and enslaved our people, we sent an armed force there and slew them, holding them unworthy of a place upon God's footstool. No, sir; by all the hallowed associations which cluster around the memory of English and American patriots, i avow that I would sooner see every slaveholder of the nation hanged, than to witness the subjugation of Northern freemen to such a humiliating condition. No, sir; when it comes to that, I, for one, shall be prepared for the dernser resort—an appeal to the God of battles. I am a man of peace, but am no non-resistant, and I would sooner the ashes of my hearth-stone should be

red; and I assure gentlemen that other in-stances will occur, if attempts be made to enforce that law. In my own district are many fugitives, who have informed their masters where they may be found. These men have become desperate. They desire to see the slave-catchers. They pant for an opportunity to make their oppressors "bite the dust." Sir, send on your commissioners and deputy marshals and bloodhounds, and I assure you that a civil war will soon be in active progress.

Gentlemen talk of enforcing this law. It cannot be done. The people have already passed sentence upon it and upon its authors; and that sentence will be speedily executed. Nor can you stop agitation in regard to it.

Agitation, discussion, and examination, are he agents-the instruments-for carrying for-

ward all reforms. The Saviour of man spoke truths boldly. They fell harshly upon the ears of scribes, pharisees, and hypocrites. They de-nounced him as an agitator; seized, tried, con-demned, and crucified him as an agitator. From that day to the present, every man who has boldly avowed truths unwelcome to the cars of despots, tyrants, and the oppressors of our race, have been denounced as agitators. Jef-ferson, in the Declaration of American Indecongress; Washington, on the battle-field, were "distinguished agitators;" John Quincy Adams, while in this Hall, for years maintained and defended with inimitable powers the right of petition, and was denounced throughout the petition, and was denounced throughout the country as an agitator. He was arraigned at the bar of this House, and tried as an agita-tor. Every member of this body who defends the rights of the people, is denounced as an agitator. To me, these epithets have lost their

errors.

For hundreds and for thousands of years, the instruction and elevation of mankind has been carried forward by agitation. By means of it, tyrants and despots have been driven from power, and popular rights have been extorted from barbarous rulers. Without agitation, no people ever gained their rights, or retained them after they had been extorted from their oppressors. Now, suddenly, to prevent the progress of liberty, Whigs and Democrats with a suppress this element in all references. unite to suppress this element in all reforms. They declare that discussion shall cease, and the slave trade and slavery shall continue forever, and the Fugitive Law shall be rendered

perpetual.
Mr. Chairman, well do I recollect the even ing after these laws had been passed. I then viewed them in all their horrors. I saw the legradation to which the people of the free States were subjected—the crimes which we had authorized. My heart sunk within me, as es which we contemplated the public men who had aimed this blow at liberty.

But, sir, on yonder avenue I heard the songs

of drunken revelry and the insane shout; bon-fires lighted up the heavens, and the thunder of cannon told the immoderate joy of slaveholders, slave-breeders, doughfaces, and dealers in human flesh. Their gratitude naturally flowed out to those most instrumental in the passage of these laws to which I have alluded, called the Compromise and Fugitive Law. In the fullness of their hearts and stomachs they repaired to the dwelling of the Secretary of State, and called on him for a speech. He readily complied, commencing his congratulation

saying:
"Now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer." He then informed the motley crew around him, that this question of slaery was settled, and that they were no more to be troubled with agitation. Sir, from that day up to the close of the Baltimore Conven-tion, he wrote letters and made speeches de-claring and avowing that agitation had ceased; assuring the country in substance that the slave trade in this District and in our Territories would go on undisturbed. That oppression here and in the Territories now had noth-Law; but they generally proved abortive. Every possible exertion was made in Boston and Philadelphia to convict those charged with obstructing its execution; but all failed. blood of Gorsuch, a piratical slave-catcher, who fell at Christiana, is unavenged, in spite of the public treasure and Executive influence put forth to obtain a conviction of those who right-eously slew him. The patriots who assisted Shadrach to escape the fangs of the Boston bloodhounds, yet laugh to scorn your infamous law. At Syracuse, at Rochester, and a hundred other places, the friends of liberty rejoice at the impotency of this law, although it has These defeats of the Executive, and of this enactment libellously called a law, have resulted from agitation; and well may slave-catchers and doughfaces now seek to stifle discussion, to silence the people.

Sir, while these things were going forward.

the Secretary of State was looking for and ex-pecting a return for the services he had renderd the slave power. The Presidential chair and White House was looked to as the reward for his treason to God and humanity. But there again agitation had done its work: All reflecting men knew that he could receive in the whole Union scarce twenty electoral votes. And when the Baltimore Convention passed upon his claims, not a Southern vote was cast for him. Chagrined, mortified, and discontented, he will soon retire, and history will record the truth concerning him and us. But, sir, I will not aggravate the chills of political death, nor call up to mind the sins which must "sit heavy

Agitation has brought to the scaffold another conspicuous victim. The President of these United States lent his whole influence to the promotion of those Compromise measures to which I have alluded. His devotion to the slave power has been openly and boldly avowed. Steadily and basely has he prostituted the in-fluence and power of his office, to the purpose fluence and power of his office, to the purpose of supporting slavery, oppression, and crime. At the Baltimore Convention, the slaveholders, I believe, were unanimously in his favor. But Northern delegates dared not support him. Agitation had informed the people of his having deserted their cause, and gone over to the enemies of freedom. The popular voice of the North had pronounced his doom; he was cast aside; the political grave yawns for him; and on the 3d of March he will be laid in it. Were I to write the epitaphs of these men, I would on the 3d of March he will be laid in it. Were I to write the epitaphs of these men, I would inscribe upon their tombs, "KILLED BY AGITATION." Think you not that these men and their party have cause for their hostility to discussion—to the dissemination of truth?

The Democrats, also, have cause for opposing agitation. Their ablest, their most experienced statesmen have fallen victims to it. General Cass, the man who of all their candidates I deemed best qualified for the Presiden.

dates I deemed best qualified for the Presiden-cy, in an evil hour signed a letter pledging him-self to these Compromise measures. It proved his political death-warrant, when, too late, he nis political death-warrant, when, too late, he found that the people of the North would sustain no man who had thus pledged his influence of office to measures which the popular voice has condemned as barbarous, as disgraceful to our nation. At the Baltimore Convention his friends hore him to his political grave; and "Not a drum was heard, nor a funeral note,"

"Not a drum was heard, nor a funeral note," as they quietly deposited his remains in their final resting-place. Such, too, was the fate of Pennsylvania's favorite statesman. He had long been anxious to serve the slave interest. He pledged himself in the most unqualified manner to maintain these laws as a perpetual settlement of the slave question. But he, too, was cast aside at an advanced age, when he can look for no further preferment. These men all died of "eating Southern dirt."

Circumstances appear to render it indelicate

all died of "eating Southern dirt."

Circumstances appear to render it indelicate for me to speak of other candidates of the Democratic party. Yet I would remind them all of the fate which must await those public men who prove false to liberty and humanity.\* I assure them and the country that agitation will continue and increase until the people of the free States shall be relieved from all participation in the discrete and crimes of element. pation is the disgrace and crimes of slavery.

Agitation is the great and mighty instrument for carrying forward these reforms. Agitation is as necessary to purify the political atmosphere of this nation, as storms are to purify the

poisoned, and the body politic would putrefy.

But this opposition to freedom, so dominant in the Whig and Democratic parties, led to the organization of the friends of liberty into a seprate political party in 1848. The extraordi nary circumstances which then surrounded the advocates of freedom called together a mighty host. On the memorable ninth of August, of that year, fifty thousand freemen met in solemn convocation. There were men of distinction, men of intellect, statesmen, and philanthropists. They were conscious of the responsibility rest ing upon them. In framing a confession of their political faith, they laid its foundations upon the enduring, eternal principles of justice. The equal right of all men to enjoy life, liberty, and happiness, constitutes the basis of our creed; and the next article asserts "That Governments are constituted among men to secure these rights." All our action under the Constitution

human being within our exclusive jurisdiction. That our legislative powers in this District, on the high seas, in our Territories, should be exerted to secure every being who bears God's image, in his right to life and liberty, instead of establishing and sustaining oppression and slavery. Here, sir, at this point, an issue between us and the other parties, deep and broad, is presented. And from this position the friends of humanity will never depart.
It is an important fact, that neither the

Whig nor Democratic party profess to pay any respect or attention to moral principles in their legislation. By their practice they deny their legislation. By their practice they deny the responsibility of human action, so far as politics are concerned. They hold that members of this body may pass laws which deprive our fellow-men of life or liberty, and that those who enact such laws are not morally guilty of enslaving or murdering their fellow-men. We, sir, hold that those who enacted the Fugitive Slave Law are as guilty in the sight of God and good men as they would be were they themselves to seize a white man, place irons upon his limbs, and send him to slavery without law. In such crimes, we, the advocates of freedom, will not participate. One of our resolutions adopted at Buffalo was in these words:

" Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Govornment to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery, wherever it pos-sesses constitutional authority to legislate on that

This resolution is in direct and unqualified conflict with the entire policy of the Whig and Democratic parties relative to slavery. It is in conflict with the platforms of those parties, to which I have called attention. Basing our whole political action upon the plainest princi-ples of justice, liberty, and humanity, we challenge examination, discussion, agitation. We seek to cover up nothing, to keep nothing from he popular ear. The more you examine and our doctrines and policy, the better are

We, sir, would drive the slave question from iscussion in this Hall. It never had a constiutional existence here. Separate this Government from all interference with slavery; let the Federal power wash its hands of that institution; let us purify ourselves from its con-tagion—leave it with the States, who alone have he power to sustain it; then, sir, will agitation cease in regard to it here; then we shall have nothing to do with it, our time will no more be ccupied with it, and, like a band of freemen, band of brothers, we could meet here, legis late for the prosperity, the improvement of mankind, for the elevation of our race. Mr. Chairman, I have served in this Hall

some fifteen years. During that period, I think at least two thirds of the time of this body has been occupied by the subject of slavery, and other matters connected with that institution. For the last three years we can scarcely be said to have done anything else but discuss and legislate for slavery. This, sir, is all wrong. Slavery is a local institution, existing only in a portion of the States. The attempt to nationlize it is unwarranted and up To do this is now the object of both the Whig and Democratic parties. Against these ating, undying, unyielding hostility. This war we shall never give up. We shall never lay This war aside our arms until victory shall crown our efforts; until this Government shall be redeemed and disenthralled from the foul stain of chatand disentifiated from the four staff of chartel slavery. Against oppression, in all its forms and in all places, we have sworn eternal hostility. Our sympathy for suffering humanity is broad as creation, reaching to all climes, and embracing all who bear the image of our Creature. tor. To persecuted Hungary we tender the assurance that "we feel for those in bonds as

ocrats have spoken oracularly.

The Whigs talk about "entangling alliances and standing on foreign soil;" but they dare not take distinct issue on the propriety of ex-erting our moral power, our political influence, maintain the law of nations. Substantially ooth Whigs and Democrats are opposed to us both Whigs and Democrats are opposed to us on this subject. They would permit Russia or Austria to swallow up Hungary, without any protest or expression of our disapprobation. We sympathize with the oppressed of all nations; and we, the Free Democracy, literally constitute the party of progress. At Buffalo we adopted the policy of "cheap postage for the people," and inscribed it upon our banner, and unfurled it to the breeze. We foresaw the adpeopls," and inscribed it upon our banner, and unfurled it to the breeze. We foresaw the advantages of increasing the facilities of communication among the masses, and determined to confer upon our country these benefits, while Whigs and Democrats were too timid to take position either for or against it.

I am aware that we are often charged with being men of one idea—indeed, we are sometimes called the party of one idea—and I refer to these facts to vindicate ourselves from that charge. We dared go where neither of those parties were willing to follow us, nor to oppose us; and in less than three years the correctness of our position has been acknowledged before the country.

"Lands for the poor, homes for the destitute,"

free of expense to all who will immigrate to the West, was another article in our political creed. To this policy, neither the Whig nor Democratic party dared express their consent; nor dared they oppose it. At this session a bill, carrying out our views on this subject, passed this body by a vote of nearly two to one. The Senate will doubtless comply with the repulser will of the netter by research this. the popular will of the nation by passing this measure of benevolence, which will cause thoujoy. Sir, the Free Democracy believe that Gov-ernments were constituted to protect, elevate, and render our race, our whole race, more happy. That it is our duty as statesmen, as philanthropists, as Christians, so far as we have constitutional power, "to raise up the bowed down," "to exalt the humble," "to inform the ignorant," "to comfort the distressed," and increase the prosperity and happiness of all who come within the sphere of our political, our moral, or our religious influence. Of course, we are hostile to those Compromise measures which the Whigs and Democrats are

pledged to sustain.
In 1848, nearly three hundred thor men cast their votes for our Presidential candidate. Since that period, our moral and politididate. Since that period, our moral and political power has greatly increased. Probably one third of the members on this floor are indebted to men who sympathize with us for their seats, and many were elected solely and entirely upon our principles. Three members of the Senate were elected as Free Democrats, while others are partially indebted to the votes of the Free Democracy. In several State Legislatures we hold the balance of power; but this is but little evidence of the rapidity with which our principles are extending. Our progress is marked by the change of feeling towards our doctrines in both the other parties; their hostility is diminishing daily; they are becoming acquainted with our views, and, of course, respect our motives. In all elections now, throughout most of the free States, candidates are selected whose doctrines and principles are not obnoxious to us. The cloud which, in 1848, was like unto a man's hand in size, has now overspread the whole North, and will soon extend over the nation, and finally over the world. But it is said that those friends in the State of New York, who came from the Democratic party, have returned to it. I deeply feel and New York, who came from the Democratic party, have returned to it. I deeply feel and deplore this fact. I loved and honored them—
I still respect them; but I must say that, in my judgment, they have erred in departing

circumstances attending their nomination, I do not believe. I hope and trust they wil pet feel the propriety of again acting with us. But while they are permitted to judge for them-selves; they and all mankind will accord to us the same rights. The members of our party generally, entered upon an organization with a deep feeling and conviction that such an organization was necessary. Time and experience has confirmed us in that opinion. I have stated the basis of our doctrines; they are permanent, eternal as God himself. While standing on those principles, we cannot be wrong. The political and moral regeneration of our country, the entire reformation of this Government from its practice of sustaining oppression, slavery, and crime, is our object. To effect this great and holy purpose, must require time and perseverance. In what I have said and done on these questions I have but reflected the sentiments and feelings of those I represent—indeed, among them are many, very many, "older and better soldiers" than myself That people, sir, will stand firmly, steadfast, and immovable, upon the doctrines and the organization which they have adopted. am aware of the arguments so often used

to persuade Free-Soilers to vote for this or that man, for this or that party, in order to gain some supposed temporary advantage. But, sir, we organized for the maintenance of doctrines mportant not merely to the people of a township, a county, or a State, but to man wherever he is found—important not merely to-day, at this election, or next year, but in all coming time. Can we leave such a position, to unite with either of the other parties in order to elect this or that man to office, while he stands pledged to maintain slavery and the slave trade in this District and in our Territories-to continue the infamous Fugitive Law — to uphold and support all these measures as a final settlement of the subjects to which they refer, and to discountenance all examination, discussion, or agitation, as to the propriety of these measures? Sir, were we to unite with either party to elect a President thus pledged, we should lose our own self-respect—we should lose the respect and the confidence of the world. Politically, sir, we are "a city set upon an hill, which cannot be hid." Throughout the country our influence is felt. In this Hall we wield a moral power far beyond our numbers. Let no man charge me with indelicacy when I as-sert that the Free-Soilers of this body exert all the influence to which their numbers entitle them. Whigs and Democrats have confidence that we shall in all cases be guided by judgment, by reason, and justice, and not by the paltry considerations of party.

The effect has been most salutary. Ter

years since, no man here dared separate from his party. No matter what was the subject or his own judgment, every member was compel-led to fall into line and vote with his party leaders. Free-Soilers have set an example here of independence. The commencement of our trials on this subject was severe. We were frowned upon, vilified, and denounced, but thank God we had the firmness to bide our time, and now for years many Whigs and Dem-ocrats have followed our example, and dared to vote as their judgments and consciences dictate. In short, sir, here party lines upon most subjects of legislation have become obliterated.
This of itself constitutes a great reform. Party
lines are also becoming obliterated throughout the country, in consequence of the example and influence of the Free Democracy. This wide and extended influence must be surrendered, if we vote for either of the other parties or their

At Baltimore, a portion of the Whig party contended manfully against committing them-selves to the outrages and crimes of the Fugitive Law and Compromise measures. In that respect they did more than the Democrats. My sympathies and the sympathies of our par-ty and of all good men were with them. And had the Anti-Slavery Whigs in this House and the Senate promptly and energetislave power with decision and firmness, I have little doubt they would have inspired a feeling at Baltimore which would have repudiated a platform that has stampted indelible disgrace upon their party. In this Hall, the Democrats have sustained the constitutional rights of the free States more ably and faithfully than the Whigs have during the present session. But I am aware that a strong effort is ma

king to induce our Free Democracy to sustain the Whig candidate at the coming election. With the gentleman nominated I have long een acquainted. To him nor to the Democratic nominee have I any personal objection; but if elected, he is pledged to maintain the outrages, the revolting crimes, pertaining to the Compromise measures and Fugitive Slave Law, to which I have called attention—to render them perpetual, so far as he may be able—to prevent all discussion relating to them. To vote for him is to vote for this policy—to identify ourselves in favor of the avowed doctrines which he is pledged to support—to give proof by our votes that we approve the platform on which he stands. But, sir, why vote for Scott in preference to Pierce? Of the men I say nothing. They merely represent the doctrines of the parties who nominated them. If there be a difference between those parties, it is on the slave question. It can be found in nothing else. The doctrines of the Whig party, as I have shown, pledge them and their candidate to maintain slavery; the breeding of slaves for market; the sale of women in this District and in the Territories; to uphold the Fugitive Law in all coming time; to admit as many slave States as shall apply from New Mexico and Utah, and to silence discussion on all these subjects. This is as far, I think, as human depravity can go. If the Democratic party has dived deeper into moral and political putridity, some archangel fallen must have penned their confession of faith. If there be such a distinction, it can only be discovered by a refinemen of casuistry too intricate for honest minds to exert. Sir, suppose there were a shade of distinction in the depths of depravity to which these parties have descended, does it become men—free men—men of moral principle, of po-litical integrity—to be straining their visions and using intellectual microscopes to discover that shade of moral darkness? No, sir; let every man who feels that he has a country to save, a character to sustain—that he owes a duty to mankind and to God—come forward at once, and wage a bold and exterminating war against these doctrines, so abhorrent to freedom and humanity.
But it is said that the Democratic party, defeated again by the Anti-Slavery sentiment as they were in 1848, will disband, and the

as they were in 1848, will disband, and the masses will then unite with us in support of justice, truth, and liberty. The defeat of the Democratic party might disband them, and it might not. There is no certainty on that point. If we were to unite with the Whigs, we might or we might not defeat the Democrats. If we have the defeat the Democrats. or we might not defeat the Democrats. If we were to try the experiment and fail, Whigs and Democrats would despise us. We should despise ourselves. If we should succeed, we should become identified with the Whig party, and swallowed up by it. In every aspect in which I can view such a policy, we must lose the moral power which we possess. Standing upon elevated principles—professing, avowing, and proclaiming the political gospel which we present to the people—we cannot descend to mingle in such a contest without a sacrifice of that moral and political influence which now commands the respect of all honest men, and of

slaked in my own blood, and the blood of my children, than submit to such degradation. And here I will take occasion to say, that if this law remains in force, civil war is inevitable. The people will not submit to it. Why, sir, civil war already exists. At Christiana, civil war, with all its circumstance of force, under color of law—resistance in defence of natural right—bloodshed and death took place. In my own blood, and the blood of the nation would be around us; and showers—and vapors, poisonous extheir own masters they stand or fall. Had they continued with us, there is, in my opinion no doubt that we should, in November next, have effected the election of a President favorable to our views. That they are friends of liberty, I know; that they will sustain the doctrines laid down in the Democratic confession of faith, or vote for Pierce and King under the lice men: the vital blood of the nation would be recommended and the body relities required to discharge their duty. Sir, their own masters they stand or fall. Had they continued with us, there is, in my opinion no doubt that we should, in November next, have effected the election of a President favorable to our views. That they are friends of liberty, I know; that they will sustain the doctrines laid down in the Democratic confession of faith, or vote for Pierce and King under the lice men: the vital blood of the nation would be recommended and the body relities required to discharge their duty. Sir, their own masters they stand or fall. Had they continued with us, there is, in my own fault as there was more political effort made they continued with us, there is, in my own fall. Had they continued with us, there is, in my own fall. Had they continued with us, there was more political effort made they continued with us, there was more political effort made they continued with us, there was more political effort made they continued with us, there was more political effort made they continued with us, there was more political effort made they continued with will admit that they ever cast a vote for the present Executive, a man who has prostituted the power of his office to the support of slavery and crime. Now they are to be called on to vote for men openly pledged and committed to the work of eternizing slavery and the slave trade, and the Fugitive Law. I will leave the Free Democrecy of the Reserve to speak for themselves. They have always done that. Nor am I authorized to speak for the Whigs or Democrats, although I have been supported for many years by a portion of both those par-ties; yet I will risk the opinion, that not one half of either of those parties on the Reserve will be found voting for Scott or Pierce.

Sir, we are in the midst of a revolution. The two great parties are striving to convert this free Government into a slaveholding, a slave-breeding Republic. Those powers which were delegated to secure liberty are now exerted to overthrow freedom and the Constitution. It becomes every patriot, every lover of freedom, every Christian, every man, to stand forth in defence of popular rights, in defence of the rights of the free States, of the institutions uner which we live, in defence of our national

character.
Sir, I am getting old, the infirmities of age are coming upon me. I must soon leave the scenes with which I am surrounded. It is uncertain whether I shall again address this ody; but one thing I ask, that friends and foes, here and elsewhere, in this and in coming time, shall understand, that whether in public or in private life, by the wayside or the fireside, in life or in death, I oppose, denounce, and repudiate, the efforts now put forth to involve the people of the free States in the support of slavery, of the slave trade, and their attendant

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